CENTRAL LIBRARY

SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF JĀTAKAS

[WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BHĀRHUT]

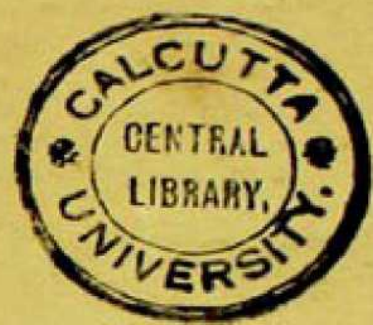
GOKULDAS DE, M.A. (*Gold Medalist*)

LATE SCHOLAR AND PALI-PRIZE HOLDER OF RANGOON COLLEGE,
JUBILEE POST-GRADUATE SCHOLAR AND LECTURER IN THE
DEPARTMENTS OF PALI AND MODERN INDIAN
LANGUAGES, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY
1951

SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF JĀTAKAS

[*WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BHĀRHUT*]



080 cal
175/7

GOKULDAS DE, M.A. (*Gold Medalist*)

LATE SCHOLAR AND PALI-PRIZE HOLDER OF RANGOON COLLEGE,
JUBILEE POST-GRADUATE SCHOLAR AND LECTURER IN THE
DEPARTMENTS OF PALI, AND MODERN INDIAN
LANGUAGES, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

175/7

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY
1951

Rs. 7/-

CENTRAL LIBRARY

BCU 920

157244

PRINTED IN INDIA

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY SIBENDRANATH KANJILAL
SUPERINTENDENT (OFFG.), CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS,
48, HAZRA ROAD, BALLYGUNGE, CALCUTTA.

1656 B.—May, 1951—E.

In token of love, esteem and gratitude
This work is dedicated
To
My "very pleased old Master"
(as he styled himself in his kindness)

MONS. CHARLES DUROISELLE,

Professor of Pāli, Rangoon College and Hon. Librarian,
Bernard Free Library, Rangoon (1906-1912);
Government Epigraphist and
Superintendent, Archæological Survey (Burma)
at Mandalay (1912—1937),
who first initiated me
into the study of Pāli and
showed the vastness of the subject.

CONTENTS

PAGE

1. Foreword—By Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, D.Lit. (Lond.) . . . . . vii-ix

2. Introduction . . . . . vii-xvi

Place of Jātakas in Theravāda, xi-xii. The view points from which they are looked at, pp. xii-xiv. The defect of Bodhisatta idea, pp. xiv-xvi. Presentation of Jātakas in Jātaka Aṭṭhakaṭhā, pp. xvi-xvii. History of development of Jātakas from gāthās to Bodhisatta stories, xvii-xviii. Bhāgavatism in Early Buddhism, pp. xviii-xix.

3, Bhārhut Jātakas in a New Light 1-19

Bodhisatta idea in Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā, pp. 1-2. Do. in Milinda, pp. 2-5. Do. in Cariyapiṭaka and Buddhavaṃsa, pp. 5-8. Do. in the Nikāyas and Vinaya, pp. 9-12. Bodhisatta idea not found in Bhārhut, pp. 12-14. Examination of the titles, pp. 14-17. Bodhisatta idea in titles of other versions, pp. 17-18. Conclusion, pp. 18-19.

4. Tikoṭika Cakama 20-25

Scenes from the story of the Bhāgavata Purāna, pp. 20-22. Bas-relief compared with the Purāna-stories, pp. 22-23. Observations on the scenes, pp. 23-25.

5. Original Nature of Jātakas 26-45

Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā contains non-Bodhisatta Jātakas, pp. 26-28. Jātakas divided into five categories; (1) As mere titles, p. 29, (2) Only as verses, pp. 29-30. (3) With additional morals and notes of identification as 'vitthāras, pp 30-32 (4) The prose is changeable, pp. 32-34. (5) The verse is the Jātaka and not the prose, pp. 34-35. Ideal and functions of Jātakas, pp. 35-38. Development of Jātakas in five stages, A, B, C, D and E groups, pp. 38-44. Jātaka nomenclature, pp. 44-45.

6. Manipulation and Antiquity of Jātakas 46-66

What a Jātaka is, pp. 46-50. A Jātaka compared with the Aṅguttara and Digha-Nikāya and Cariyapiṭaka versions of the story, pp. 50-56. Meaning of Suttanta Jātakas, pp. 56-57. Moral stories of Nikāyas and Vinaya represent original Jātaka-prose, pp. 57-60. Jātakas of Mahāvastu, pp. 61-63. Bhāgavatic-idea in Bhārhut-Jātakas and its later development, pp. 64-65. Growth of Jātaka literature, p. 66.

PAGE

7. Development of Jātaka Vatthu 67-93

Definition of a Jātaka, pp. 67-68. Jātaka prose inseparable from Jātaka verses, pp. 68-70. Place of Buddha in the original story, pp. 70-71. Importation of the Bodhisatta idea changes the outlook as can be seen from Non-Bodhisatta vs Bodhisatta Jātakas, pp. 71-80 Causes of development of prose, pp. 81-83. Jātakas in Suttāntas, pp. 83-84. In Cariyapitaka, pp. 84-85. In commentary on Cariyapitaka, p. 85. In Jātaka Atthavaṇṇanā, pp. 85-87. Notes on Paccuppanna Vatthu, pp. 87-89. On Samodhāna, p. 89. On Veyyākarana, pp. 89-91. Jātakas on the Stupa of Bhārhut, pp. 91-92. Stages of development, pp. 92-93.

8. Introduction to Importance of Jātakas 94-99

Verse Jātakas to form the basis, pp. 94-96. Religious back-ground, pp. 96-99.

9. Sociology 99-124

Beginning of Caste-system, pp. 100-101. Position of Brahmins, pp. 101-104. Slaves not forming any caste, pp. 104-105. Chaṇḍālas forming the lowest caste, pp. 105-106. Caste not an avocation, pp. 106-107. Members of society are ñātis, pp. 107-109. Marriage confined to ñātis, pp. 109-111. Marriage rules, pp. 111-112. Position of women, pp. 112-117. Friendship affords security from danger, pp. 117-120. Commensality not restrained by caste, pp. 120-122. Conclusion, pp. 122-24.

10. Polity 125-155

Jātakas as sources of history, pp. 125-126. Political divisions of Northern India, pp. 126-130. Divisions of the State, pp. 130-132. King as the head of society and government, pp. 132-134. Ministers as an advisory body, pp. 134-138. Bankers are also king's servants, pp. 135-136. Gāmanīs the real administrators of villages, pp. 138-142. King's forces and revenue, pp. 142-143. Mode of espionage, p. 144. King's harem, pp. 144-146. Code of guidance for kings Rājavinaya, pp. 146-149. Kingship in Tribal government, pp. 149-152. Final observation, pp. 152-155.

11. Religion (Bhāgavatism) 156-178

Jātakas primarily intended for laymen, pp. 156-157. They are exponents of Bhāgavatism, pp. 157-158. Worship of sages and their doctrines, pp. 159-160. Reverence to be shown to Indra, Brahmā, Gaṅgā, pp. 160-163. The sun worship, p. 163. Worship of Nāgas, Yakkhas, Gaḷuras, p. 164. Of departed fore-fathers, and gods, p. 165. Belief in 'mantras', p. 165. Yaññas, pp. 165-166. Practice of alms-giving and abstaining from taking life extolled, pp. 166-167. Worship of Buddha Dhamma and Samgha along with the knowers of the Vedas, pp. 167-170. Bhāgavatism in sculpture, pp. 170-171. Emblem of worship of the Absolute, pp. 171-177. Brahmanical gods in Buddhism, p. 178.

FOREWORD

The Buddhist *Jātakas* (in Pāli or "Mixed Sanskrit") form a unique thing in Indian literature, we may say even in World literature. These can be described briefly, in their general character, as folk-tales hanging from the thread of a didactic verse which frequently makes a reference to some story or situation. Generally, it may be assumed that the verse had a direct connection with the story or situation, like the "Application", or explanation with reference to practical life, of a fable by Aesop which we find in some old editions of the fables ascribed to the ancient Greek sage—*i.e.*, to the moral which is drawn from the story and sought to be rubbed in. But it is quite plain that in many instances the story need not have been the original peg to hang the moral distichs from at the end. In the case of the Indian Buddhist *Jātakas*, there is no doubt that the verses (*gāthās*) at the end were the original literary base. The stories were at first passed on by word of mouth, and for this they suffered from slight alterations, or even total change, before they were put down and compiled as *Jātaka* texts in the original Buddhist Canon (presumably in the eastern dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan as current in Kosala, Vārānasi, Videha and Magadha, and later rendered in other ancient Indian speeches like Pāli, 'Gandhārī' or the North-Western Prakrit, and "Buddhist Sanskrit", for instance). In the study of the *Jātakas*, the pride of place naturally belongs to these *gāthās* or verses at the end, as furnishing the basic material. Similar *gāthās* are found in contemporary, and even earlier Brahmanical literature, as for instance in *Mahābhārata*, the *Artha-śāstra* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. There have been some very useful studies of the *Jātakas* as a whole. Valuable evidence about the social and cultural *milieu* in ancient India during the closing centuries of the first millennium before Christ have been placed

before the interested world, e.g., in a work like Dr. R. Fick's "Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time", in German (1897), made available in English by the University of Calcutta in 1920, and in the recent publication of R. P. Mehta, "Pre-Buddhist India", published from Bombay in 1939, and B. C. Sen's "Studies in the Buddhist Jātakas" in 1930 in the Calcutta University Journal of the Department of Letters. Other scholars of Buddhism, like Rhys Davids, for instance, have utilised the *Jātaka* material in connexion with their work on Buddhist India and Buddhism.

The field of the Buddhist *Jātaka*, like that of the Brahmanical *Mahābhārata*, appears to be inexhaustible, and is capable of being looked at from various points of view. It is a matter of congratulation that my friend and colleague in the University of Calcutta, Professor Gokul Das De a veteran student and teacher of Pāli for the last 32 years, has taken up the *Jātakas* and has made very penetrating studies of this body of literature, bringing in a new insight and understanding from a profound knowledge of the texts. He has rightly taken up this attitude towards the *Jātakas* that the *Jātakas* are largely folk literature in which beast fables and fragments of historical tradition as well as tales of wisdom have been gathered together with a religious and moral purpose, and the verses at the end form the real texts to hang the narrative sermons from. Comparative study of the *Mahāvastu* and other Buddhist Sanskrit texts and the Pāli *Jātakas* demonstrates the antiquity and originality of these verses. The desire for literary symmetry has sought to modify the heterogeneous character of these tales in the Pāli Canon, but without any real success. The value of the tales and the verses remain, as embodying ancient Indian ideas and notions on all aspects of life, which form the basis and back-ground of primitive Buddhism.

It would appear that outside of the authoritatively set forth philosophical Buddhism as in the *Abhidhamma* section of the Canon, there was a variety of folk religion and folk usage, which

came under the tutelage of official Buddhism as well. Some of the elements of this folk religion and folk cults were quite different in spirit from the official *Hīnayāna* of the Pāli texts, for instance, but these, nevertheless, had a vogue, and form precious relics, wherever they can be culled from the *Jātaka gāthās* and other sources, for the understanding of the bases of Buddhism.

Thus Professor De demonstrates, on the basis of the *gāthās*, that *Bhāgavatism*, *i.e.*, faith in a living divinity, was an element, and a most powerful element too, in the opinion of Prof. De, in the ideologies which swayed the primitive Buddhists, howsoever the later philosophical thinkers may have turned the course towards what has been characterised or explained as a merely nihilistic doctrine (which, however, has been disputed by some competent scholars of Indian and Buddhistic thought).

Altogether, these essays or chapters on the Buddhist *Jātakas* by Professor De throw fresh light on early Buddhism, and demonstrate the invaluable character of the evidence supplied by the *Jātakas*. The work is thought-provoking, and I am sure will induce other scholars and aspirants to scholarship to survey the *Jātaka* literature with greater keenness and attention to detail. I am sure this not very large work (but very useful nevertheless) will be read with profit and pleasure by students of Indology, and I would like Professor De to follow up these enquiries by a fuller treatment of the *Jātaka* and other basic texts of Buddhism in India.

THE UNIVERSITY,
CALCUTTA,
17th January, 1951.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

INTRODUCTION

The articles incorporated in this work were, excepting the last, published by the University of Calcutta nearly two decades back in the *Calcutta Review* and the *Journal of Letters*. They seek to establish some new truths regarding the origin of Buddhism and the history of Pāli literature and in view of the astounding revelations they make they had to be kept back from being put into a book-form for some time in expectation of the reaction which might come from scholars working in the field. It might now be safely assumed, after receiving very favourable opinions on them from scholars of international reputation, that they are incontrovertible and do form the basis on which future generations of scholars will carry on their researches in Buddhism.

A few introductory remarks in elucidation of the present place of Jātakas in Theravāda Buddhism and other relevant matters forming the background of the study of these articles, are given as under :

The Jātakas occupy the tenth place among the fifteen works of Khuddaka Nikāya of the Suttapiṭaka which is one of the three Piṭakas of the Pāli Canon. The fifteen books of the Khuddaka Nikāya are (1) Khuddakapāṭha, (2) Dhammapada, (3) Udāna, (4) Itivuttaka, (5) Suttanipāta, (6) Vimānavatthu, (7) Petavatthu, (8) Theragāthā, (9) Therigāthā, (10) *Jātaka*, (11) Niddesa, (12) Paṭisambhidā, (13) Apadāna, (14) Buddhavaṃsa, and (15) Cariyapiṭaka. But this is a later grouping and the enumeration does not follow any chronology. Originally, the Jātakas formed one of the nine types of composition which constituted the Pāli Canon in the shape of Āgamapiṭaka fixed in the First Council. The division of the Canon into the three Piṭakas, *viz.*, the Sutta, the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma, took place in the Third Buddhist Council. Prior to that in the Second Council

the Canon was divided into two parts, the Sutta and the Vinaya. This could be learnt from the fact that the vast number of seceders from the Second Council formed their own Vinaya in contradistinction to the Vinaya of the orthodox monks, whose Vinaya, therefore, must have been already set apart. The Āgamapiṭaka which was the only Piṭaka or authentic compilation of the Doctrine, of the First Council contained the following nine types of composition : the Sutta, the Geyya, the Veyyākaraṇa, the Gāthā, the Udāna, the Itivuttaka, the *Jātaka*, the Abbhuta and the Vedalla. Although the two lists of works or compositions, whatever they might be, all remaining in the memory of monks, of Āgamapiṭaka and of Khuddaka Nikāya of Suttapiṭaka differ considerably, the Jātakas appear to be common to both.

Modern scholars in explanation of Jātakas say that they are a collection of verses bearing upon the Buddha's previous births and this association of past lives of Buddha with the Jātakas made it obligatory on them to bring down their origin to later years even after the compilation of the three Piṭakas, the idea itself being of post-Nikaya period. Therefore the authorship of the Jātakas, though attributed to Buddha, was ascribed to the scholiasts of later times notwithstanding their mention in the original Āgamapiṭaka. This is an anomaly which none have tried to solve.

With regard to the Jātakas, Prof. Rhys Davids, the greatest pioneer in the field of Pālī studies, has observed in his Buddhist India that a typical Jātaka is one which has (1) an introductory episode, (2) the story of the past being the Jātaka proper in prose, (3) the verse giving the moral in archaic language and many times appearing redundant for presenting the same facts of the story, (4) an explanation of the verse or verses and (5) identification of the actors of the past story with the present ones among whom Buddha must be the hero. In fact, the Jātakatthavaṇṇanā, as edited by Prof. Fausböll in seven volumes, has presented each of the Jātakas with these five parts. Without this framework no story is to be regarded as a Jātaka. It is only

in its pre-Jātaka form that a simple fable or a parable without the outer frameworks appeared in the older Nikāyas and the Vinaya. The learned professor then goes on to explain the anomaly about the stories which are told in the older documents in which the hero is expressly identified with the Buddha in a previous birth but which are not included in our Jātaka collection. Such stories, he says, were regarded as Jātakas before this collection grew up. He asserts that these Jātakas formed one of the nine divisions into which the earliest Pālī Canon was divided and that they are not the Jātakas of the Jātaka Book of the Khuddaka Nikāya of the present Canon, for that was not yet in existence. He next observes that it is important to notice that in none of the instances of the earliest composition that were called Jātakas, is the Buddha identified in his previous birth with an animal. He is identified only with famous sages and teachers of olden times. That the verse or a group of verses by itself cannot be a Jātaka has been very strongly advocated by Prof. Rhys Davids.

Prof. Winternitz has laboured on the point much further and concluded that the Jātakas were of many types. 'There are some Jātakas which were prose stories with one or two or a few verses containing either the moral or the gist of the tale, some in which the story itself is related alternately in prose and verse and many others which originally consisted of Gāthās only though of different descriptions and that the prose belonged entirely to the commentary.' (*Vide* p. 28 *supra*.) As a matter of fact, the diverse types of Jātakas could only arise with the development of the various characters of Bodhisatta forming their central figure, as according to him 'Any story however secular or even frivolous would become a Jātaka by having its principal character identified with the Bodhisatta.'

Accepting that the Jātakas are a collection of the previous birth-stories of Buddha, Mrs. Rhys Davids concludes her introduction to the 'Stories of the Buddha' as follows: "When we shall come to grasp in the Sākya gospel the figure of the way

aright—the figure for man's will and man's life as a whole—in which the original message was first taught, we may still appreciate much in the Jātakas as just stories; but not unless we are mindful of the long wayfaring of the individual, to which they are made to point as necessary even for the best, shall we appreciate the religious over and above the moral purpose they were made to serve." It appears, therefore, that the scholars who have so far dealt with the Jātakas have not been able to disabuse their minds of the association of the Bodhisatta with them.

This Bodhisatta origin of Jātakas was the greatest stumbling-block in the way of understanding Buddhism at its source. The general idea was that the Jātakas existed from the very early times and 'Buddho Bhagavā' unlike the 'Bhagavān' of Bhāgavata, must have, according to their testimony, evolved his state of perfection from his anterior births which were of far lower nature. In this light of evolution Buddhism appeared very different from Bhāgavatism wherein Bhagavān is the personification of the Absolute in whom the state of perfection is inherent and constant. But early Buddhism bordered on Bhāgavatism. The Bodhisatta notion in Jātakas is again responsible for another blunder which has been committed in assessing the place and importance of Jātakas as a whole in relation to the other books of the Khuddaka Nikāya and Tripiṭakas in general. The Jātaka verses which form the basis of Pāli literature were relegated to the background of the study of the Nikāyas being looked upon as of later origin and their true implications were ignored in the light of later commentaries. Thus the basis having been completely overlooked, the attempt of scholars in constructing the history of Pāli literature and religion has been mostly confusing if not erroneous. The study of Jātakas as select verses from popular literature, called Akkhānas, bearing on past episodes and exemplifying the Doctrine of Karma as found in Bhāgavatism being put into the mouth of Bhagavān Buddha, therefore, constitutes a new approach to the proper understanding of early Buddhism in the following pages.

The conception of the Bodhisatta along with that of the twenty-four previous Buddhas is noticeable for the first time in the works Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyapiṭaka and although they constitute the last two books of the Khuddaka Nikāya, a date much later than that of the Nikāyas has been assigned to them. At any rate, they must be earlier than 'Milinda' which refers to these two works and was composed towards the beginning of the Christian era. The origin of Buddhavaṃsa as noted by Dhammapāla in his commentary on Cariyapiṭaka is shrouded with mysterious and supernatural conditions too uncommon to be associated with the earlier accounts of the Vinaya or the Suttas. The Buddha just after his enlightenment is said to have given a discourse on Buddhavaṃsa and also on Cariyapiṭaka when staying with his own people at Kapilavatthu at the instance of Sāriputta who came to him with a large number of disciples from Rājagaha. The circumstances under which the arrival of Sāriputta and the delivery of Buddha's discourses took place are highly unbelievable and the fact is not even distantly referred to in the Mahāvagga which contains the earliest record of Buddha's visit to Kapilavatthu. The Bodhisatta conception which must have been taken by the Theravādins from the Mahāyānists appears to have developed with the origin of Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyapiṭaka in the beginning of the Christian era and characterised as the texts are by the style of commentary literature, this Bodhisatta conception was certainly the creation of the earliest commentators of Ceylon who were followed by the Pāli commentators of the 5th Century A.D. That this doctrine of Bodhisattaism could never have been brought to the island by the missionaries of Asoka in the 3rd Century. B.C. is testified to by the Bharhut Jātakas. Since their arrival there had been going on an oral tradition in the shape of a commentary on the Jātakas like 'Culla Niddesa' on the 'Sutta Nipāta', and although the Jātaka Book contained only the verses without their Bodhisatta, the commentaries in prose gradually centered round him after the composition of Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyapi-

ṭaka. The furtherance of the Bodhisatta notion became necessary in elucidation of these two works and Jātaka stories with very high morals were utilised for the purpose to keep pace with the ideals of the time. But the Bodhisatta idea was not applied to the Jātakas even in the time of Milinda and all the Jātakas were not as yet considered birth-stories of the Buddha prior to 5th century A. D. as will appear from the evidence of Milinda and Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā in the articles Nos. 3 and 5 in the contents of this book. The anonymous author (*vide* pp. 85-86 *supra*) of our present Jātaka collection designated as 'Jātakatthavaṇṇanā' made use of this extant Jātaka commentary and composed his great work in Pāli giving both the text and its commentary as thought proper by him in the 5th century A.D. This collection includes five hundred and fifty (actually forty-seven) Jātakas all associated with the past lives of Buddha as Bodhisatta. Prof. Fausböll has edited this 'Jātakatthavaṇṇanā' in his monumental six volumes of Jātakas with the addition of a seventh volume giving the index. The notion somehow or other got currency that from the very beginning Bodhisatta formed the chief centre of all the Jātakas, be they early or later, and this fact not only constituted the creation of a literary art but was a very important landmark in the domain of Buddhism. It created an ideal of self-sacrifice for mankind unequalled in the annals of religion, which people not only revered in the heart of their hearts but most fondly and passionately displayed in public through the merriments of festivals and joyous processions led in different parts of the year in all lands of Buddhism. (*Vide Travels of Fa-Hien* by Legge, pp. 105-7). The religious fervour with which a Jātaka is associated with the Bodhisatta is too strong to be shaken by a contrary opinion. To say, therefore, that the Jātakas did not originally connote the birth-stories of Bodhisatta amounts almost to a deliberate utterance of a blasphemy.

It is to be regretted that the great savant Prof. Fausböll who undertook to edit the 'Jātakatthavaṇṇanā' and expressed his view on

the nature of the work, should have been so callous to the very mode of presentation of these Jātakas in the work. Over each story there will be found a title invariably joined with the word Jātaka as Vānarinda Jātaka, Suṃsumāra Jātaka, Nacca Jātaka, etc. Next follows in the Paccupanna-vatthu, a portion of the first gāthā of the Jātaka referred to by the pronoun 'idaṃ' which the author has without variation used in this book. A portion of the 'gāthā' by which was meant the 'gāthā' itself is thus represented in each story by the pronoun 'idaṃ.' This is absolutely ungrammatical, as 'gāthā' is feminine and the pronoun for it should be 'imaṃ' (fem. acc. sg.) and not 'idaṃ,' which is neuter. The fact of the matter is that the author knew for certain that the portion of the gāthā or the whole group of gāthās in the Jātaka-story was really the Jātaka itself which is neuter and therefore he has used the neuter pronoun 'idaṃ' for it. Hence there can be no doubt as to what was passing in the mind of the great scholiast of Ceylon in the 5th Century A.D. about the original nature of Jātakas when he was writing his commentary. It is thus evident from the presentation[1] of the Jātakas itself that the very author of the commentary acknowledged the Jātakas to be verses first and then as Bodhisatta birth-stories. The question then arose as to how the original Jātaka verses became full-fledged Bodhisatta birth-stories later on which again led to the discovery of the history of development of Jātakas as given in the first part of my work.

In the first article entitled 'Bhārhut Jātakas in a New Light' published in August, 1929, I have traced the Bodhisatta idea from the commentaries of the 5th Century A.D. to the earliest Nikāyas and have found that earlier the work the lesser becomes the scope and influence of the idea until in the earliest stage it completely disappears. The absence of the idea of Bodhisatta in the Jātakas of the Nikāya period was, therefore, not acci-

[1] This presentation of the Jātakas further testifies to the fact that originally the Jātakas were, designated by the first two or three words of the verses with which they began. (*Vide* pp. 44-45 *supra*).

dental but being incompatible with the philosophy of the time was inevitable. There is absolutely no place for Bodhisatta in the early Jātakas. In the second article entitled 'Tikoṭika Cakama,' (published in June, 1929), a Jātaka scene of Bhārhut which has been identified with a scene on the Trikuṭa Mountain of Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I have endeavoured to point out that the devotional aspect of early Buddhism was quite in tune with Bhāgavatism of the Purāṇas. In the third 'Original Nature of Jātakas' (published in June, 1930) I have on the evidence of Dhammapada Aṭṭhakatha and Milinda traced the different stages of Bodhisatta Jātakas from non-Bodhisatta ones and have proved the original Jātakas to be verses. My fourth article 'Manipulation and Antiquity of Jātakas' (published in July, 1930) is devoted to the discussion of the relative age of the verse Jātakas and I think I have been successful in proving that they are Pre-Nikāya in antiquity. The fifth article on Development of Jātaka Prose (published in February, 1931) establishes with some degree of certainty that the prose entirely belongs to the commentary which varied according to time and different view-points from which the Jātakas were handled by different commentators. This brings us to the close of the first part entitled 'Significance of Jātakas.'

In the second part 'Importance of Jātakas' I have quoted a large number of gleanings from the Jātakas bearing on certain important and quite new features of ancient Indian Sociology, Polity (published in the *Calcutta Review*, September, October, 1931 and in the *Journal of Letters* in 1934, respectively) and Religion (just published). Among the new features I might mention under Sociology, the interpretation of ñāti in the sense of an acquaintance, free movements of women and modes of their marriage and rules on connubium and commensality; under Polity come the administration of villages by village-headmen (gāmani) flourishing under the patronage of kings and many other new matters to be learnt from the Jātakas. My last article entitled 'Bhāgavatism in Jātakas' herein published for the first time

really embodies the conclusion to which my studies in the other articles have invariably led me. It will be found to be entirely original and new and will cause surprise to many who look upon Buddhism as a nihilistic religion which having its foundation in ethics and causations, revolted against popular ideas and beliefs. I maintain to the end that the Jātakas do form the earliest stratum not only of Pāli literature but also of Buddhism which progressed rapidly by assimilating popular beliefs and cults and as such they should be studied in particular. No student of Buddhism can afford to do away with the Jātaka verses, as their study along with that of other works of Pāli literature will bring to light the fact that originally Buddhism which was preached to the masses bordered on Bhāgavatism. It will be found, however, that as the language improved in the succeeding works, a corresponding development of the religion also took place in the light of 'Dhamma Cakka Pavattana Sutta,' the first great Exposition of the 'Doctrine' by the Buddha. This can be verified by citing extracts from several Pāli texts like the Jātakas, Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Sutta-Nipāta, Dhammapada, Theratherī Gāthā and other canonical texts. Therefore, a scholarly work on the 'History of the Theravāda Buddhism' itself is still a desideratum.

A very exhaustive treatment of 'Ancient India' has come out after the publication of these articles, from the pen of an erudite though young scholar Mr. Ratilal Mehta of Bombay in his monumental work 'Pre-Buddhist India' mainly based on Jātakas. And I feel flattered very much by his accepting all my observations on Jātakas[1] as published in these articles. Still, I do not think I can agree with him in accepting the entire prose as a faithful record of pre-Buddhistic India. I am also grateful to Prof. Winternitz for referring his readers to my first article 'Bhārhut Jātakas in a New Light' in his 'A History of Indian Literature' (Vol. II pp. 618-19) without any adverse comment. Dr. B. M. Barua by accepting my second article

[1] In the portion entitled 'Tracing up' pp. XX-XXV in 'Pre-Buddhist India' by Mehta.

'Tikoṭika Cakama' has practically given his verdict in favour of my contention and has left me in a state of indebtedness. (*vide* p. 20 *supra*) The letters of appreciation received from other great indologists Dr. Walleser of Heidelberg University, Dr. Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids of London University, Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Director of Historical Research Institute, Bombay, will be appended to this book and I take this opportunity to thank them most sincerely for their encouragement ungrudgingly given to me, in the course of publication of these articles. I am particularly thankful to Prof. Jaygopal Banerjee, M.A., the then Editor-in-Chief of the *Calcutta Review*, for the timely and prompt publication of all my papers in his esteemed journal. My heart-felt thanks also go to my colleagues who have helped me in diverse ways to make this work a success and specially to Mr. Krishnachandra Ṣarkar, an artist of the Asutosh Museum who has very kindly drawn the illustrations given at the end of the work. I also take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), Professor of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University, for his constant support and encouragement in the publication of these articles. Lastly, I would be failing in my duty if I do not express my sincere thanks to Sri S. N. Kanjilal, Superintendent, Calcutta University Press for his continued efforts and kind suggestions in expediting the printing and publication of this work.

In conclusion, I beg to say that I shall consider my labours which have all along been spent for doing an up-hill work, amply rewarded if through these articles some change is effected in the view-points from which Jātakas are generally studied, and more attention is focussed on the verses recognising thereby the fundamental unity of the two great religions—Hinduism and Buddhism, curiously enough in ancient India both designated by the same expression 'Ārya Sanātana Dharma.'

GOKULDAS DE

SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF JATAKAS

"BHĀRHUT JĀTAKAS" IN A NEW LIGHT

(Origin of Jātakas in Non-Bodhisatta form)

The application of the term 'Jātaka' at the time of the erection of the 'Stupa of Bhārhut' did not involve any idea of predestination of a Bodhisatta to become a Buddha for, tracing the Bodhisatta idea from the 5th Century A.D. back to the time of the Pāli Nikāyas we find a gradual diminution of its scope until in the inscriptions of Bhārhut it totally disappears.

This is a very bold assertion calculated to undermine the theory, that the very word 'Jātaka' which has been found inscribed several times in the bas-reliefs of Bhārhut carries with it a meaning inseparable from the Bodhisatta who must be the hero of each story contained therein ; this being so, the theory requires very careful handling and investigation into all available facts.

To proceed from the known to the less known, we have to be very clear about our definition of Bodhisatta which underwent notable changes according to diverse modifications in the interpretation of Buddhism itself. Now, before discussing its origin and how it came to be first applied, it would not be unwise to state at the very outset that a Bodhisatta has generally been accepted as a being who in his desire to become a Buddha has had systematically to pass through different re-births fulfilling certain virtues in a progressive scale before attaining Buddhahood. In the case of the Buddha (*i. e.*, Gotama Buddha) his "Bodhisatta is

invariably the hero of the 'Apaṇṇaka' and other Births in which during a long period [1] the Teacher and Leader, desirous of the salvation of mankind, fulfilled the vast conditions of Buddhahood." —(The Nidānakathā, Introduction to the Jātakas of 5th Century A.D.)

The number of such re-births is by no means a fixed one and depends upon the degree of perfection attained by the aspirant in each re-birth being inversely proportional to the amount of exertion he puts forth during his evolution.

According to Pāli "Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā" collected by Fausböll, the number of re-births which Gotama Buddha passed through as Bodhisatta is 550. This being a round number the actual number of stories in the collection comes to only 547 of which again some are repetitions and must be regarded as separate birth-stories of Bodhisatta or 'Jātakas.'

Every story in this collection is associated with a Bodhisatta who necessarily becomes its hero either human or non-human but in the case of a story containing no hero the Bodhisatta is a tree-divinity to pronounce its moral. Though faulty, still the manner in which attempts were made to link these stories individually with a Bodhisatta excites one's sympathy with the author for his enthusiasm in establishing the Bodhisatta theory of 4th Century A.D. These stories which have been accepted as pre-Buddhistic, belonging to the stock of ancient Indian folklores, contain in their Jātaka forms of 4th or 5th Century A.D. a Bodhisatta each, which perhaps at that time constituted the only reason of their being put into a collection and thus saved from oblivion.

In the 'Milinda-pañha' a work composed about the beginning of the Christian Era, the notion that Gotama Buddha had for 4 'asaṃkheyyas' and 100,000 (one hundred thousand) 'kalpas' passed through various existences fulfilling the conditions of Buddhahood before its attainment, was still strong. (Milinda,

[1] "Cattāri ca asaṃkheyyāni kappāni ca satasahassāni."

pp. 232, 287, Trenckner's Edition). The name of the Buddha Anomadassi belonging to the list of 18 additional Buddhas appears in connection with the especial characteristics of Buddhas (Milinda, p. 216). This fact along with the mention of Vipassi and Kassapa Buddhas (p. 221, Milinda) makes it sure, that the theory of 24 previous Buddhas as advanced by the "Buddhavaṃsa" was known and accepted. We also find among others 22 birth-stories of the Bodhisatta but not called Jātakas (Milinda, pp. 200-203), illustrating the fact that, in previous births the Buddha was simply an equal of Devadatta in respect of fame and rank even sometimes his inferior, though always devoted to good works while the other was addicted to wickedness only. That is to say, the stories from original 'Jātakas' were being utilised at this time for some specific reason, *viz.*, to bring into clear relief the contrasting features of Gotama and his opponent Devadatta in their previous births with a view to explaining the diametrically opposite tendencies of their present births crystallising out of their previous 'karma.'

Immediately after the narration of these 'Bodhisatta births, the author takes us to the subject-matter of a very important story about the chastity of 'Amarā Devi,' the queen of Mahosadha (Milinda, pp. 205-207) but does not hint at its being in the least connected with the Bodhisatta of Buddha Gotama, though the self-same story forms the central theme of a Jātaka of Bhārhut (Yavamajhakiya Jātaka on a pillar in the S. W. Quadrant). On the strength of the aforesaid evidences we may very well argue that at the time of 'Milinda' all the stories of the original Jātaka collection were not indiscriminately made use of to illustrate Bodhisatta births and that whenever they were utilised they were so done to illustrate a particular aspect of his career.

In the next place, as to the interpretation of a Jātaka of the 5th Century A. D., serving mainly to illustrate an existence of Bodhisatta, we must considerably modify our views in the light of evidence supplied by the 'Milinda.' In the 'Milinda' a

Jātaka-Bhānaka who was an inhabitant of an ideal city, (p. 341) while reciting stories from Jātakas did not certainly narrate them with a view to illustrating the different careers of the Bodhisatta but did it simply to inculcate certain morals of Buddhism for the enlightenment of his audience. This will be made clear from quotations from the text explaining the characteristics and virtues possessed of which a 'bhikkhu' became an 'Arahat.' (Milinda, p. 363.) The morals of the following 'Jātakas' are quoted in illustration :—

1. Bhāsitaṃ p'etam mahārāja
   Bhagavatā devātidevena "*Vidhura Puṇṇa jātake*"
   (For moral, *vide* Milinda, p. 372)[1]
2. Bhāsitaṃ p'etaṃ ... "*Sutasoma Jātake*"
   (For moral, *vide* Milinda, p. 381.)
3. Bhāsitaṃ p'etaṃ ... "*Kaṇha Jātake*"
   (For moral, *vide* Milinda, p. 384.)
4. Bhāsitaṃ p'etaṃ ... "*Cakkavāka Jātake*"
   (For moral, *vide* Milinda, p. 402.)
5. Bhāsitaṃ p'etaṃ ... "*Cullanārada Jātake*"
   (Milinda, p. 403).
6. Bhāsitaṃ p'etaṃ ... "*Bhallāṭiya Jātake*"
   dvinnam kinnarānaṃ (Milinda, p. 406).

Not in any one of the verses given in the text under each of the above 'Jātakas' which are quoted by name, the career of the Bodhisatta is even indirectly hinted at, they on the other hand in their versified form corroborate the statement, that the Jātaka stories originally existed in verses. (Dr. Rhys Davids, Introduction to Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 70-lxx). These verses as preserved in our Ceylonese Collection seldom refer to any Bodhisatta but as a rule, only give the substance of the 'Atitavatthu' that is, the story proper and its moral in each case[2] and thus might have

[1] It should be noted that the Jātaka title of 'Milinda' is more in agreement with that of 'Bhārhut' containing two characters and less so with the corresponding Jātaka title of the collection retaining only one. (Fausböll. No. 545 entitled Vidhura Paṇḍita J.)

[2] The verses from "kukuṭa Jātaka," No. 383 of Fausböll's collection, will very appropriately illustrate our point.

quite reasonably served in the time of Milinda mainly as incentives to good deeds to be practised by all, (aṅgāni gahetabbāni, p. 380).

In the 'Milinda,' the definition of a Bodhisatta seems also to be confounding. In the statement, that all the Bodhisattas must, as a rule, give away in charity their sons and daughters (Sabbe' pi mahārāja Bodhisattā puttadārm dinnaṃti''—'Milinda,' p. 274) we are confronted with the question whether by 'Bodhisatta' is meant only human Bodhisattas of exalted characters fulfilling the 'pāramitas (special conditions of Buddhahood),—a view, which if accepted, would considerably diminish the scope of the term as compared with that of the Jātaka Bodhisatta where it means the hero of any and every story in the collection.

In 'Milinda,' Bodhisattas are also shown the path to the attainment of the 10 attributes possessed by the Buddhas, *viz.*, (1) agedhatā—absence of greediness, (2) nirālayātā—homelessness, (3) cāgo—sacrifice, (4) pahānaṃ—renunciation, (5) apunarāvattitā—non-return to worldly life, (6) sukhumatā—subtleness, (7) mahantatā—vastness, (8) duranubodhatā- abstruseness, (9) dullabhatā—rareness and (10) asadisatā—matchlessness. It is unnecessary to add that 'tiracchāna' or non-human Bodhisattas cannot be contemplated under the category of Bodhisattas here. (Milinda, p. 276). We shall not also be surprised if we find, as we proceed on to earlier stages, the number of non-human Bodhisattas becoming less and less and human Bodhisattas surpassing in skill and virtue those of later times. It may also be noted that the story of Vessantara Bodhisatta in the 'Milinda' is not given the epithet 'Jātaka' (p. 274).

The works entitled 'Cariyapiṭaka' and 'Buddhavaṃsa' perhaps mark the next earlier stage of Pāli literature. Both are several times referred to indirectly in the Milinda specially the 'Cariyapiṭaka,' which is mentioned by name in connection with the account of Vessantara Bodhisatta.

These two works are important landmarks in the whole history of Buddism in that they clearly indicate a stage of its development

when a notable departure was made from the original Doctrine by launching the new theory of 'pāramitās' in the former along with the addition of 18 Buddhas in the latter, to wit,—Dipaṃkara, Kondaṇṇa, Maṅgala, Sumana, Revata, Sobhita, Anomadassi, Paduma, Nārada, Padumattara, Sumedha, Sujāta, Piyadassi, Atthadassi, Dhammadassi, Siddhattha, Tissa aud Phussa—to the already existing and recognised six premier Buddhas of the Nikāyas, *viz.*, Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Konāgamana and Kassapa. This theory of 'pāramitā' and that of the 18 Buddhas referred to above were unknown to the Nikāyas (excepting, of course, a few later works of the Khuddaka Nikāya) so far available.

The theory of 'Pāramitās' lays down that a being, of course a male, has to attain perfection in all the 'pāramitā' virtues which are essentially 10, *viz.*, (1) Dāna, (2) Sila, (3) Nekkhamma, (4) Sacca, (5) Paññā, (6) Viriya, (7) Khanti, (8) Adhiṭṭhāna, (9) Mettā and (10) Upekhā but subdivided into 30 as each of the 10 above, in its turn, becomes reducible to 3 of higher, ordinary and lower degrees, before he can attain Buddhahood and deliver mankind from suffering. And this necessitates his passing through various existences as a Bodhistta (*i.e.*, a would-be Buddha) attaining and gaining perfection in successive re-births until he reaches Buddhahood.

"Kappe satasahasse caturo ca asankheyye
ettha antare yam caritam sabbam tam bOdhipācanam"

"*Cariyapiṭaka.*"

The 'Cariyapiṭaka' has devoted 10 'cariya' existences or birth-stories of the Boddhisatta of Gotama Buddha to 'Dānapārami,' 10 to Silapārami, 6 to Nekkhammapārami, 6 to Sacca, 2 to Mettā and 1 to Adhiṭṭhāna, while the rest of the 'pāramis,' *viz.*, Paññā, Viriya Khanti and Upekhā have unfortunately gone without any illustration. It is evident from the nature of the work that the author had originally an idea of devoting 10 existences or birth-stories available from the Jātaka collection to each of the 10

"pāramitās" and complete his work with 100 pāramitā stories of the Bodhisatta. But why he failed is not very easy to say now. In Mahāyāna there are only six pāramitās, and not ten. It is not certain whether this theory had any thing to do with cariya-piṭaka in which the author has illustrated only six pāramitās. One thing is however certain, that he exclusively depended for his materials upon the versified Jātaka-tales which are not seldom quoted verbatim. Verses from "kaṇhādipāyana Jātaka" No. 444 of the collection, are reproduced word for word in the verses under the corresponding 'cariya'-story illustrating Saccapārami; verses from Jātaka No. 35 entitled Vaṭṭa Jātaka occur word for word in Vaṭṭapotaka cariyam of Saccapārami. Likewise verses of Maccha Jātaka No. 75 are also found incorporated in the Cariyapiṭaka under the 'cariya' of Maccharājā and so on. He was chiefly concerned in bringing out the moral elements of the Bodhisatta and consequently left out of view the humour, fun and inferior morals of the older stories. A comparison of the 'Vānarinda Jātaka with the 'Kapirājacariyam' of the Cariyapiṭaka will fully bear out our remark. The story of "Saccasvhaya paṇḍita" of Saccapārami, consisting only of a single verse, omits all the details of the older story so that we have the bare statement that the Buddha in a former birth by his truth preserved the world. "This brevity," observes Rev. Dr. Morris, M.A., LL.D., the editor of the works, "makes it somewhat difficult to harmonise the two versions of these old birth-stories." This observation is perfectly correct in view of the fact that, in the absence of a common purpose in these two versions there can hardly be any harmonisation. And, it being highly improbable that the Bodhisatta should appear in two different colours at once in one and the same story of these versions, it necessarily follows that, the much older Jātaka-tales supplied morals from Buddhism and were generally incentives to good deeds to be parctised by mankind whereas these cariya-stories which were selected out of them were newly formulated and improved upon their originals with a view to illustrate the practice of virtues (pāramitās) by the Bodhisatta and being thus made to

order necessarily differed from the original a good deal in form and ideal barring all chances of harmonisation.

The 'Buddhavaṃsa' is also conspicuous in that it advances for the first time in Pāli the theory, that Gotama Buddha is the resultant of Brāhman Sumedha, who on account of his devotion and attachment to Dipaṃkara Buddha, the earliest of the 24 Buddhas previous to Gotama, had his prayer granted to become a Buddha, in consequence of which he had to pass through innumerable existences though denoted by the number 550 irrespective of species for a period of 4 'asaṃkheyyas' and one hundred thousand kalpas in fulfilment of the 'pāramitās' before attaining Buddhahood. The work gives only an account of 24 existences, each of which was devoted to the services of each Buddha of the list.

Thus, the Bodhisatta idea in its technical sense originating in the 'Buddhavaṃsa' necessarily involves three conditions without which it cannot stand. These are: (1) the beginning of the Bodhisatta period from the birth of Sumedha Brāhman, (2) the duration period till its fulfilment and (3) its place in relation to 24 pervious Buddhas. Without the 24 Buddhas previous to Gotama which are a necessary adjunct to the Bodhisatta theory, a Bodhisatta in its technical sense cannot be conceived. He must have his place among the 24 Buddhas in the process of Buddhahood which otherwise is impossible of attainment. The birth of a Bodhisatta cannot therefore be regarded as independent or voluntary as an incarnation (*Vide* Matsya or Bhāgavata Purāṇa) but as a birth on compulsion. It is also a significant feature of Bodhisattaism as gathered from the available data at our disposal, that there was a marked tendency towards the inclusion of more and more animal elements from the Jātaka tales for the illustration of the career of the Bodhisatta as time went from Buddhavaṃsa onwards. In the Buddhavaṃsa the percentage is 4%, in the Cariyapiṭaka it is 33%, in the 'Milinda' about 50% and in the Jātaka Commentary every animal hero of a story is the Bodhisatta making the percentage very great.

Therefore, it certainly took a considerably long time after the 'Milinda' for such ordinary Jātakas of Bhārhut as Biḍala, Kukuṭa, Secha, Uda, Laṭuva, Kinara, etc., with the title 'Jātaka' attached to them, to have been recognised as the previous birth-stories of the Buddha in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā of the 5th Century A. D. in Ceylon.

The next earlier stage in the literature of the Pāli conon is that of the Nikāyas and the Vinaya which throw, as a rule, a quite distinct light on the Bodhisatta implying only the person of the Gotama Buddha so long as he did not attain Bodhi. And therefore, with the Bodhisatta are connected such incidents of his life as took place before his enlightenment, attaining which he was recognised as Tathāgata or Buddha or Bhagavā—the terms which are synonymous and have never been used in connection with any event prior to Buddhahood. This will be evident from the following :

(1) *Digha Nikāya*.—P. T. S., Vol. II, 12-15. "Dhammatā esa bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto Tusitakāyā cavitvā, etc." Mahāpadāna Suttanta ; "Mahāparinibbāna" Suttanta, p. 108.

(2) *Saṃyutta Nikāya*.—"Nidāna Saṃyutta," XII, P. T. S., Part II, p. 10.

(3) *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.—Catukka Nipāta, "Cattāro acchariya abbhuta dhammā." P. T. S., Part II, p. 130.

(4) *Khuddaka Nikāya*.— 'Suttanipāta—Nālakasuttaṃ,'

"So Bodhisatto ratanavaro atulyo
manussaloke hitasukhāya jāto
Sakyānaṃ gāme janapade lumbineyye
tenmhā tuṭṭhā atiriva kalyarupā."

'Bodhisatta' is invariably used in contradistinction to the Buddha-state in the life of one and the same person. And the most significant feature in the early Nikāyas about the absence of the technical Bodhisatta as applied to his anterior births in post-Buddhavaṃsa literature, lies in the recognition of these births as great kings or sages without the denomination of Bodhisatta, or the

implication that these births formed some links in the chain of Bodhisatta evolution. Such is at least the case with the Mahā-Govinda and Mahā-Sudassana Suttantas. In the conclusion of the former, the Buddha simply says, "Sarām ' ahaṃ Pancasikha, ahaṃ tena samayena Mahā-Govinda-brāhmano ahosiṃ, etc., " and in the latter " Na kho pana Ānanda evaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ aññο nuna tena samayena rājā Mahā Sudassano ahaṃ tena samayena rājā, ahosiṃ " without the least implication of the Bodhisatta idea which is conspicuous by its absence. Neither are we to be taken aback for the statement put into the mouth of the Buddha that there were various births (never as animals) which he remembered having assumed in the past by means of 'pubbenivāsānussatiñānaṃ'—the faculty of remembering one's previous births. The following passage from the Majjhima Nikāya (Mahā Sīhanāda Suttaṃ 12.) cannot be applied to the animal births of the Jātakas :—

" Amutrāsim evaṃnāmo evaṃgotto evaṃvaṇṇo evamāhāro evaṃsukhadukkhapatisaṃvedi evamāyupriyanto tato cuto amutra udapādim, etc., "

Moreover, the identical passage, being also used in connection with an ordinary Bhikkhu, seems to be very vague in its import and apart from its usefulness as an illustration of knowing one's re-births by the faculty of 'Pubbenivāsānnsatiñānaṃ' in a general way, it can hardly be taken to refer to any law regulating the anterior births of the Buddha (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Tika Nipāta, § 58, para. 3).

These births are generally to be looked upon as disconnected and independent births required for the guidance and salvation of many, assumed according to the needs of the time and conforming more to the theory of incarnation than to Buddhalogy or Bodhisatta-ism as expressed in the following passage :—

" Pure purattha purimāsu jātisu,
Manussa-bhūto bahunnaṃ sukhāvaho

Ubbega-uttāsa-bhayāpanudano
Guttisu rakkhāvaranesu ussuko."
'*Digha Nikāya, Lakkhaṇa Suttanta.*' [1]

And further, not only is the Bodhisatta in its technical sense absent in the Nikāyas but there is on the contrary, a particular doctrine called Dhammādāsa explained by the Buddha in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, by means of which a true lay-disciple (ariyasāvaka) having faith in the Buddha, could easily locate his own fate as well as the fates of others after death. This doctrine very clearly points out, among others, that there can be no animal birth for such a disciple and that he is not likely to be reborn for the eighth time. (Digha Nikāya, Vol. II, P. T. S., pp. 93, 94—"Khinatiracchāna yoniyo," etc.; 'na te bhavaṃ aṭṭhaman ādīyanti'—Ratanasuttaṃ, Suttanipāta; Aṇguttara Nikāya, Vol. I, Ānanda vagga, section 75, p. 222, Tika Nikāya). Therefore, this doctrine makes it highly improbable that the Brāhman Sumedha in the time of earlier Nikāya literature should have undergone as Bodhisatta so many animal and other inferior births of the Jātaka tales in return for his services and deep attachment to his master Buddha Dipaṃkara. And the most convincing proof regarding the absence of the Bodhisatta idea of Buddhavaṃsa from this literature is afforded by its recognition of only 6 previous Buddhas in lieu of 24 mentioned in the former, a conception of later times without which the arising of technical Bodhisatta was not possible. Hence, the technical Bodhisatta being no longer to be found in the literature of the period, the identification of the main actor of a Jātaka tale with the Bodhisatta (for such a collection did exist at the time as it is referred to in the Vinaya Piṭaka and admitted by all the schools to have been one of the earliest divisions of the Buddhist canon) is wrong and misleading.

The 'Vinaya Piṭaka' goes even further. Not content with mentioning the 'Jātaka' as one of the earliest subdivisions of the

[1] *c.f.* 'paritrāṇāya sādhūnāṃ vināçāya ca duṣkṛtāṃ
dharmasaṃsthāpanārthāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge'
—Bhagavat-Gītā, Ch. IV, No. 8.

doctrine of Gotama Buddha, it asserts that the 'Jātaka' also formed a part of the doctrine of each of the six Buddhas, *viz.*, (1) Vipassi, (2) Sikhi, (3) Vessabhu, (4) Kakusandha, (5) Konāgamana and (6) Kassapa, who preceded him (Vinaya, Sutta Vibhaṅga, Part I, pp. 8 and 9) and thus practically dismisses the idea of associating only with the Bodhisatta of Gotama Buddha the 'Jātaka' sculpture of Bhārhut where also are to be found the six other Buddhas referred to above, represented with great prominence. The Bodhisattas, if at all, may as well be of these six Buddhas and not of Gotama Buddha alone. The fact is, however, that such Bodhisatta theory was altogether unknown in connection with the above six Buddhas previous to Gotama and as such it should be totally rejected from the Stupa of Bhārhut.

The following 'Jātakas' have been traced in the Vinaya and the Nikāyas existing as stories illustrating only morals from Buddhism without referring to the Bodhisatta or any independent previous birth of the Buddha :—

1.	Jātaka No.	1	"Apaṇṇaka J."	belonging to	"Pāyāsi Suttanta" of D. Nikāya.
2.	,,	,, 10	"Sukhavihāri J."	,, ,,	"Cullavagga," p. 183 of Vinaya.
3.	,,	,, 37	"Tittira J."	,, ,,	,, p. 161 ,,
4.	,,	,, 91	"Litta J."	,, ,,	"Pāyāsi Suttantta" of D. Nikāya.
5.	,,	,, 253	"Manikaṇṭha J."	,, ,,	"Pārājika," Vol. III, p. 145 of Vinaya P.
6.	,,	,, 371	"Kosala J."	,, ,,	"Mahāvagga," p.342 of Vinaya P.

These by no means exhausting the list, others may be found as well.

The Bhārhut labels with their literature in broken Pāli and therefore pointing to a still earlier date, in this respect open up a fresh avenue of enquiry landing us on to the region of "Bhāgavatism" by associating with Bhagavā even the scenes from the

unenlightened period of the Buddha's life which the earliest of Pāli canonical works have failed to do. Three of these scenes are only available at present, *viz.* :—

1. Bhagavato ūkranti (A Pillar N.E. Quadrant).
2. Mahāsāmāyikāya Arahaguto devaputo vokato Bhagavato Sāsani paṭisamdhi (A Western Gate corner pillar).
3. Bhagavato Cuḷamaho (A Western Gate corner pillar).

The very term 'ūkranti' is non-Pāli and probably means the descent of an 'Avatāra' or an incarnation of Bhagavān. (Pāli, okkanti, Śkt. avakrānti, *i.e.*, u in Bhārhut equals o in Pāli).

In the earliest Canonical works belonging both to Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools these scenes are associated with the Bodhisatta, meaning of course the unenlightened person of the Buddha and never with Bhagavā or Buddha or Tathāgata.

The usual custom of designating the Buddha as Bhagavā after his enlightenment has also been particularly observed here along with the recognition of the six previous Buddhas as Bhagavās in the following scenes :—

Examples of Bhagavān Sākyamuni:—

(1) Bhagavato Sakamunino Bodho
(2) Bhagavato Dhamacakaṃ.
(3) Ajātasata Bhagavato Vaṃdate.
(4) Erapato Nāgarāja Bhagavato Vaṃdate.
(5) Bahuhathika āsanaṃ Bhagavato Mahādevasa.

The six previous Buddhas have been represented in the following manner :—

(1) Bhagavato Vipasino Bodhi
(2) Bhagavato Sikhino Bodhi (though this pillar is lost still it can be located).
(3) Bhagavato Vesabhuno Bodhi Sālo.
(4) Bhagavato kakusadhasa Bodhi.
(5) Bhagavato konāgamenasa Bodhi,
(6) Bhagavato Kasapasa Bodhi.

Thus the Bhārhut sculpture has definitely testified to its ignorance of even the personal Bodhisatta which originated with

the Nikāyas and developed into technical Bodhisatta after the compilation of "Buddhavaṁsa" and "Cariyapitaka."

This proves the gradual diminution of the scope of the term Bodhisatta in tracing the idea from the time of the Jātaka—Aṭṭhakathās of the 5th Century A.D. back to the time of the Pāli Nikāyas and then to the Bhārhut Stupa where it ceases to be altogether.

The above conclusion which is reached by external evidence alone can also be obtained by internal quite independently and can be briefly stated thus :

The peculiar religious belief underlying the Jātaka collection of the 5th Century A.D. as expressed in the eagerness to associate each Jātaka with a Bodhisatta of the Buddha is conspicuously absent in the labels of Bhārhut. If the title 'Jātaka' of Bhārhut necessarily implied the predestination of a Bodhisatta to have acquired its religious importance and special significance, which it certainly did in the 5th Century A. D. on account of its association with the Bodhisatta, then, does it not stand to reason that it must be found as a rule attached to all the labels on bas-reliefs dwelling on the birth-stories of the Bodhisatta? Or in other words, if the title 'Jātaka' carried with it the inherent idea of a Bodhisatta and was regarded sacred on that account, then a Jātaka-story upon a sacred 'stupa' must also be found, as a rule, to possess this very title. If, without the Bodhisatta who is its keynote no Jātaka can be accepted, then without the title 'Jātaka' no Bodhisatta can be accepted by implication. Under this scheme the Bhārhut Jātaka-bas-reliefs group themselves into three well defined categories which are—

(*a*) Those that contain the title 'Jātaka.'

(*b*) Those that contain only the names of principal characters in the story but not the title Jātaka.

(*c*) Those that neither have the names of characters nor the title 'Jātaka.'

Under the category (*a*), the following bas-reliefs may be placed :—

(1) Vitura Punakiya Jātaka.
(2) Mugapakaya Jātaka.
(3) Sujāta Gahuta Jātaka.
(4) Biḍala Jātaka Kukuta Jātaka.
(5) Secha Jātaka.
(6) Bhisaharaṇiya Jātaka
(7) Isisiṅgiya Jātaka, etc.

The following may be cited under (*b*) :—

(1) Usukāro Janako rājā Sivali devi
(2) Citupāda Sila.
(3) Digha tapasi sise anusāsati.
(4) Miga samadakam cetaya.
(5) Dusito giri dadati na.[1]
(6) Dadanikamo cakamo.
(7) Asaḍā vadhu susāne sigāla ñati, etc.

The subject-matter of the following 'bas-reliefs' may be brought under (*c*) :—

(1) The story of Kuraṅga Miga Jātaka, on the 15th pillar in the S. E. Quadrant.
(2) Do. Mahākapi Jātaka, on the 8th pillar in the S. E. Quadrant.
(3) The story of Camma Sāṭaka Jātaka, and
(4) The story of Āramadusaka Jātaka found on the copings.

The bas-reliefs of (*b*) and (*c*) omitting the title 'Jātaka' leave no doubt as to the absence of the Bodhisatta idea in them as the title Jātaka must have been the only vehicle of this idea if it existed at all at the time in question.

There can only be some misgivings as to whether or not some Bodhisatta was implied by the bas-reliefs under category (*a*) containing the word 'Jātaka.' But a careful examination of these titles convincingly leads us to the conclusion that the word

[1] The reading should be 'Dusito Giridaṃtena' with which a Jātaka verse begins in the collection. Jātaka No. 184.

'Jātaka' in them signifies nothing more nor less than what is commonly denoted by the term 'story.'

In the first place, a comparison of the nomenclature followed in the Bhārhut and the Jātaka collection proves beyond doubt that there is not the least agreement between them and to call some of the titles identical is a misnomer. We give below a few observations on their difference.

(*a*) In the Jātaka collection the title 'Jātaka' seems to have been applied to the main actor, *i.e.*, the Bodhisatta of the story in contradistinction to its application to more than one character in the Bhārhut labels proving its use in the sense of a story. Examples :—

Jātaka Titles in the Collection	Jātaka Titles in the Bhārhut
Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka	Vitura Punakiya J.
Sujāta Jātaka	Sujāta gahuta J.
Kukuṭa Jātaka	Biḍala J., Kukuṭa J., etc.

(*b*) Under the notion of Bodhisatta the title Jātaka in the Jātaka collection is invariably joined to the word denoting main actor or action undergoing no modification and itself is subordinated to it, but in the Bhārhut Jātaka (in its story sense) it remains unaltered and prominent while the main word being subordinated to it, is used adjectively thus proving, that in the former, the personality is the main concern and, in the latter, the moral or the story is the central idea. Examples :—

Makhādeva Jataka	Makhādeviya J.
Chaddanta ,,	Chadantia J.
Mugapakka or better Temiya Jātaka.	Mugapakaya J.
Bhisaharaṇa Jātaka	Bhisaharaniya J., etc.

(*c*) Where the application of the word 'Jātaka' to the main actor was found impossible owing to the prevalence of the accepted nomenclature a change seems to have been effected by altering the title of the story from the general to the particular :—

Dubbhiya Makkata Jātaka from Secha Jātaka.
Aṇḍabhūta Jātaka ,, Yam Bamaṇo Avāyesi Jātaka.

Mahā Ummagga Jātaka .. Yavamajhakiya J.
Dabba puppha .. Uda Jātaka.

(*d*) So much was the need felt for a change of the current notion of Jātaka in its story sense, that it was found justifiable to alter a title of the original even if it was already favourable to the acceptance of the Bodhisatta theory.

This happened in the case of

Nacca Jātaka from Haṃsa Jātaka and
Kakkaṭaka Jātaka from Nāga Jātaka of Bharut.

The percentage of such titles is of course very small.

(*e*) A total change of original nomenclature in favour of the Bodhisatta is evident in the Mugapakka Jātaka of the collection being better designated as Temiya Jātaka after the corresponding 'Temiya caritaṃ' of the Cariyapitaka, which shows the influence of the Bodhisatta idea as advanced by the work on the nomenclature of later Jātaka stories.

The inferences which can be drawn from these data are the following :—

(1) The word Jātaka when used originally meant a story illustrating some moral with special reference to Buddhism.

(2) The nomenclature of these Jātakas was variable and not fixed.

(3) Due to different interpretations of Bodhisatta-ism, the Jātaka nomenclature underwent such modification in a particular school as suited best its own views.

The last point will be better understood in the light of the following evidence :

With the Mahāyāna Buddhists among whom the 'Avadāna' collections serve to illustrate the careers of the Bodhisatta, Kunālāvadāna was taken to be the birth-story not of the Bodhisatta of Gotama, but of the Bodhisatta of a future Buddha.

In Tibetan, the very first Jātaka equates its Budhisatta not

with the Bodhisatta of Gotama but with a Lama who necessarily becomes the Bodhisatta of a future Buddha. (S. C. Dass, Translation of Tibetan Jātakas.)

'Mahāvastu' mentions among others the following Jātakas :—

(1) Uruvilva kāśyapādikāśyapādānam Jātakam.
(2) Ajñāta kauṇḍiṇṇa J.
(3) Bhadravargikānam J.
(4) Purṇasya maitrāyani putrasya J.
(5) Jaśodharāye hārapradāna J.

The last of these titles seems to indicate that the word 'Jātaka' originally implied a story and not a birth-story of the Bodhisatta, while as regards the others referring as they do to the immediate disciples of Buddha Gotama, they cannot ordinarily be associated with the Bodhisatta of that very personality.

Whatever signification they might have received later on from tradition surcharged with the developed Bodhisatta theories, they could not under those very titles refer to him originally.

The Pali Jātaka-stories of the collection, one and all refer under a different nomenclature to the Bodhisatta of Gotama Buddha only. There is thus a discrepancy not only as to nomenclature but with regard to that which is generally held to be the principal feature of the Jātaka tale and which is its identification varying according to different schools.

The conclusion is therefore irresistible that the Jātakas of 'Bhārhut,' have to be taken in their ordinary sense meaning stories or fables told by the Master in illustration of his Doctrine and not in the special sense in which the Buddhists used them in later times implying birth-stories of the Bodhisatta before he became the Buddha.

The fact that the great Buddha, whom to represent in human form was considered impious in the sculpture and who was accorded worship bordering on divine worship, should have been represented by either a human or an animal form, be it in a previous birth, was an impossibility. To accept that the donors who

came to revere and worship the sacred memory of their Master in a fitting manner should have thought it proper to connect his holy person with some being, human or animal, in a former birth before his own person could be represented in human form, is beyond all common sense. The truth is that, the four kinds of devotees, *viz.*, Bhikkhu, Bhikkhuni, Upāsaka and Upāsikā, who came to pour forth their heart's tribute by gifts of pillars and rail-bars or copings had but one end in view, *i.e.*, to worship the Master and perpetuate his Doctrine. Their love and esteem for him had not yet given them an opportunity of thinking how he came to attain Buddhahood or what constituted the process of becoming a Buddha. 'Yo mayā dhammo ca vinayo desito so vo mam' accayena satthā.' "The Doctrine and Discipline which I have taught shall be your Teacher when I am gone," with these words the Buddha admonished his disciples when bidding them farewell for the last time before his final departure. That the adoration of the Doctrine was a religious practice after the demise of the Master we learn from the Milinda which definitely refers to such a practice along with the worship of relics.[1] Surely, while worshipping the Master, the devotees of Bhārhut could not afford to ignore his saintly teachings. They, therefore, under-took to put down in pictorial forms on the railings, like Emperor Asoka doing in words on his edicts, giving some the title Jātaka, some simply the name of the place or of the actors and some no title at all, the eternal and evergreen Doctrine of their Master, to be followed and revered by all mankind. Thus, the Jātakas having no Bodhisatta did originate with the earliest doctrines of Buddhism.

[1] Bhavadukkhapaḷipilitā sattā dhāturatanañca dhammavinayañca anusatthiñca paccayaṃ katvā sampattikāmā sampattiyo paṭilabhanti.—Milinda p. 98.

'TIKOṬIKA CAKAMA'[1].

(A Jātaka excluded from the Fausböll's collection)

In the "Bhāgavata Purānaṃ" of Srimat Bhāgavatam, eighth book, second chapter, the following story about the difficulties of a certain king of elephants while disporting himself in a lake situated beside the "Trikuṭa Mountain," definitely establishes the identity of 'Tikoṭika Cakama' of Bhārhut Stupa which has up till now baffled all efforts of scholars in this direction. The story which is very lengthy in the original containing much that is post-Buddhistic is given below in parts sufficient to explain the different sections of the bas-relief for our purpose. It runs thus :—

Part I.—There is a beautiful mountain called 'Trikuṭa' surrounded on all sides by a sea, the waters of which consist of milk. It is ten 'koṭi yojanas' in height and the same in length and breadth. It has three peaks of gold, silver and iron respectively, illuminating constantly the four quarters and the waters of the surrounding sea. Its heights on the sides are also decorated with various gems and covered with numerous trees, creepers and shrubs. The melodious notes which issue out of the running rivulets on the sides of the mountain are carried by echoes far and wide up to the very extremities of the horizon. Its base is being constantly washed by the waves of the sea. The king of the mountain has given a green hue to the neighbouring earth with the splendour of corals of green colour. Inside the triangular resort dwell perpetually 'the Siddhas,' 'the Chāraṇas,' 'the Vidyādharas,' 'the Mahoragas' (great snakes), 'the Kiṇṇaras,' 'the Apsaras' and their sweet songs of melodious tunes cause the caverns of the mountain to be ceaselessly resounded with them.

[1] Mr. Gokuldas Dey of the Calcutta University has shown that the description of the Trikūta mountain in the Bhāgavata Purānaṃ is of such a nature that one may explain many of the details of the Bharhut scene. Dr. B. M. Barua—Bharhut, Book II, p. 78.

BCU 920

Lions living outside, thinking that other lions are producing them roar in anger.

* * * *

Part II.—The great Varuna has a beautiful woodland bower close to its sides called 'Ritumat' which is full of evergreen trees with flowers and fruits. Angels come and enjoy themselves in this pleasure garden where there are such trees as 'Mandāra,' 'Pārijāta,' 'Pātali,' 'Aśoka,' 'Champā,' 'Panasa,' 'Amba,' 'Jambu,' 'Sāla,' etc., and also a beautiful lake shining with silver-lotuses together with 'Kumuda,' 'Utpala,' and 'Satapatra' adding to its beauty.

(*Vide* Plate No. XXVIII Scene; Stupa of Bharhut, Cunningham)

* * * *

Part III.—On this mountain, one day, its inhabitant, the king of elephants, while roaming with his herd of females and young ones, began (enchanted by the notes) to trample and break down all the trees, creepers and shrubs of the forest. The lions, tigers and other ferocious animals took shelter at a distance out of fear and the minor beasts such as cows, goats, etc., placing themselves under his mercy grazed fearlessly a little further away out of his reach.

* * * *

The elephant-king after a while got exhausted due to his excitement under the scorching sun and approached the lake with his herd in fatigue and thirst. He took a dive into the cooling water fragrant with lotus-dusts and having refreshed himself comforted the herd by sprinkling on the members especially the young ones, water from the lake and made them eat the lotus-stalks. But infatuated as he was with pride, he lost all knowledge of the fearful consequences and being confounded by a magic spell cast from heaven was caught hold of by a gigantic crocodile who lived in that lake. The piteous position of the elephant-king being dragged into the water by the mighty crocodile caused the females and the youngs of the herd to wail in disappointment and the

157244

tug-of-war between the elephant and the crocodile in which none was able to get the upper hand, continued for a great length of time.

Part IV.—At last, the elephant-king finding no other means of rescue sought refuge with the Saviour of the time who was Bhagavan Hari, son of Harimedha, the father, and Harini the mother, and was released.

Reading from the left to the right, the bas-relief[1] agrees with this description even in details. The expression of the elephant-king in trouble is exquisitely dramatic as carved in the bas-relief which thus interprets "the horrors of pleasures." And to point out this moral it has been graphically put up on the Stupa for the benefit of the pious visitor. It further illustrates the Bhāgavatic aspect of early Buddhism wherein the Buddha was regarded as a saviour of mankind who rescued his devotees in times of great dangers.

"The presence of two trees indicates that the scene is laid in a forest or mountainous region. The triangular resort is represented by the three uniform sides of the triangular mountain bearing various auspicious marks of leaves and flowers on their ornamented surface. The dragon-chief evidently lying at the bottom represents supernatural beings emitting sweet sounds. The two lions outside the enclosure stand facing each other, one looking towards the front, the other looking towards the back, both of them showing an attitude of alertness in making attacks, with their gaze fixed in the same direction. As regards the herd of wild elephants, the various attitudes of eating and drinking as well as those of keeping watch and guard are clearly marked. The one at the bottom who sits (?) characteristically behind one of the lions, keeping the front legs erect and the gaze fixed in the same outward direction towards the cavern, is listening to the notes coming from it. The leader of the herd being caught by the crocodile stands in awe in the lake, in

[1] Pl. LXIX Scene 83.—Bharhut, Bk. III, Dr. B. M. Barua.

the upper part of the medallion, watching the whole situation before his eyes. The younger elephants, among whom two bigger ones stand face to face, and the smallest one drinking water from a stone bowl are also shown."[1]

In support of this identification a few observations seem to be necessary which may be stated thus :—

(*a*) The story of the king of elephants from Bhāgavata Purāṇaṃ found in an ancient Buddhist monument though in a different sense, need not surprise any one, especially when such a case occurs in Bhārhut where the devotional aspect of Buddhism is so much in evidence both in art and in literature. In the 'Buddha Charita Kāvyam' of Asvaghosa who is said to have flourished in the time of Kaniṣka, copious examples are quoted from Bhāgavata Purāṇaṃ in connection with the life and teachings of the Buddha. The following are among the most prominent ones :—

(1) "Svayaṃbhuriva çāntaḥ" (Calm as Siva), (2) "Pāṃdu," (3) "Kaurava," (4) Puraṃdara," (5) "Agastya," (6) "Yayāti," (7) "Parāçara," (8) "Viçvāmitra," (9) "Vaçiṣṭha," (10) "Dhṛuba," (11) "Bali," (12) "Aṃtideva," (13) "Videharāja Janaka," (14) "Aṃbariṣa," (15) "Rāma," (16) "Gautama," (17) "Ahalyā," (18) "Ṛṣyaçṛṃga," (19) "Nahusa," etc.

From these, it is evident, that the stories of the Purāṇas were pre-Buddhistic. They were well known to the people and were used in devotional literature by the Buddhists as late as the time of Kaniṣka about the beginning of the Christian era after which the desire for such reference seems to have greatly abated. Little wonder then, that the artists of Bhārhut in their zeal for propagation of the faith made use of the story about the rescue of the elephant-king to impress the new adherents of Bhagavān Sākyamuni.

In this connection, our special indebtedness is due to Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit., Professor of Pali, Calcutta University, for broadening the interpretation of the Bhārhut Jātakas which must

1 The reading is mostly adopted from Dr. Barua's "Bhārhut Stone as a Story-teller" subsequently changed to 'Bharhut Jātaka Scenes'—*Vide* Scene 83.

be taken in the sense of stories connected with the life not only of the Bodhisatta but also of the Buddha. (And shall we add of any Buddha past, present and future?) Our learned Doctor has himself quoted parallel passages from 'Vāyupurāṇa' in support of his notes on 'Acharās' of Bhārhut Stupa, thereby proving the Purāṇa stories to be earlier than those of Bhārhut.

(*b*) The last part of the story describing the fight between the elephant and the crocodile is not clear in the bas-relief and therefore requires a little note for its acceptance. The bas-reliefs of Bhārhut, each of which as a rule dwells in the same medallion, on the different episodes of one story in different perspectives seldom reproduce the whole story, thus leaving a considerable part of it to the imagination of the intended visitor supposed to know it in full. Without this understanding of the complete story behind them the meaning of these sculptures would be nothing and their value lost. The following Jātaka sculptures may serve as illustrations: 'Kuruṅgamiga Jātaka,' 'Nāga Jātaka,' 'Isisiṃgiya Jātaka,' 'Yavamajhakiya Jātaka,' Mugapakaya Jātaka,' etc.

Therefore, to say that the absence of any part of a story in the sculpture testifies to its absence in the allied contemporary literature, is not very convincing.

(c) 'Tikoṭika Cakama' which in translation becomes 'A pasture ground bounded by three sides' has in the absence of a definite story in the background, unfortunately been taken by previous scholars in the sense of a triangular lake or a pool, which is hardly tenable. 'Caṅkama' in Pali, from the root 'kama' to walk, means a piece of land for walking (Vinaya, Mahāvagga, Ch. III, § 5, para. 8) and the place for access to a river or a lake is called a 'tittha.' Hence the acceptance of 'Tikoṭika Cakama' in the sense of a triangular lake or a pool seems wide of the mark. The story which we have reproduced above accepting 'Tikoṭika Cakama' as the place of resort of supernatural beings such as 'Gandharvas,' 'Kinnaras,' 'Mahoragas,' etc., appears to hit upon the right solution.

(*d*) General Cunningham suggests that the inscription is attached to a representation of the Nāgaloka region of snakes and elephants which is situated under the Trikuṭa rocks supporting Mount Meru and Dr. Barua admits that 'tikoṭika' can undoubtedly be equated with 'Traikuṭa,' the 'three-peaked.'

Of course, except as a broad suggestion, the interpretation of General Cunningham is not very effective.

(*e*) We may note further that the absence of this Jātaka label from Fausböll's collection may well be accounted for by the fact that elimination of Bhagavatic ideas gradually took place in the Theravada to which school the collection belongs as it laid more and more stress upon individual effort and exertion than on faith and devotion. Another devotional Jātaka of Bharhut, *viz.*, "Vasuguto māchito mahādevānam" is also wanting in the collection.

ORIGINAL NATURE OF JĀTAKAS

(Development of Jātakas from non-Bodhisatta to Bodhisatta forms)

The main object of this article is to prove that, bereft of the Bodhisatta idea, a Jātaka originally consisted of a verse or verses embodying in a concise form a past episode, generally with a moral understood with the help of a prose narration which for the most part remained implicit rather than explicit, changing according to circumstances; and that all the Jātakas mentioned in connection with the seven Buddhas, *viz.*, Gotama and his six predecessors from Vipassi to Kassapa, were of this type from which the Bodhisatta Jātakas have developed later on.

While setting forth the notable incidents common to the lives of all Buddhas, the Mahāpadāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya (P. T. S. Vol. II, pp. 2-7) mentions only the seven Buddhas referred to above and gives particulars as to the caste, family, age, the tree of Wisdom, the noble pair of disciples, the strength of the Saṇgha, the personal attendant and parents with the kingdom and capital belonging to each, but nowhere does it mention the Bodhisatta of Gotama serving his term of pre-Buddha period under his six predecessors, a fact so strongly presented in the Buddhavaṃsa as being indispensable to the evolution of his Buddhahood.

This is a clear proof of the fact that the Bodhisatta theory is not only incompatible with the seven Buddhas but was altogether unknown in connection with their recognition and the homage which people still paid to their memory, so elaborately and beautifully depicted in the sculptures of the Bhārhut and Sānchi Stūpas.

The Jātakas found on these stūpas, therefore, must, of necessity, be devoid of the Bodhisatta idea being only illustrations of morals taught by the Buddha.

The question which now arises is whether this statement is corroborated by existing Buddhist literature which retains the use

of Jātakas as primarily illustrative of morals only. In our attempt to show this, we need not go very far; for, such Jātakas have been found to exist in the Pāli literature itself being in the commentary on the Dhammapada which is almost contemporary with the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā (*i.e.*, Fausböll's Jātaka collection) making an exclusive use of the Jātakas as previous birth-stories of the Buddha fulfilling his 'pāramitā' virtues.

It may be definitely stated that even when the Bodhisatta idea was rampant in the 5th century A.D., the compiler of the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā has many a time referred to the Jātakas in his monumental work certainly not for exhibiting the career of the Bodhisatta which he has acknowledged indirectly, but for illustrating the morals of Dhammapada verses, especially of those bearing on the theory of Karma. It is interesting to note, that while in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā, the Jātaka stories were being exclusively manipulated for illustrating the previous births of Gotama Buddha as a Bodhisatta, there grew up side by side in Ceylon another commentarial work known as 'Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā,' equally if not more reliable, making use of the same Jātakas for altogether a different purpose.

The author[1] of the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, whoever he might be, was undoubtedly a very powerful writer and the mode of his presentation of the Jātakas in his work, apart from testifying to his integrity of purpose in reproducing them faithfully, differs widely and fundamentally from that of the 'Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā,' and brings out in clear relief the original nature of them in respect of their form and ideal, hitherto remaining inexplicable. As a matter of fact, the Jātakas of Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā prove with the greatest degree of certainty that 'Santikenidāna' in other words 'paccuppanna vatthu,' 'Veyyākaraṇa and 'Samodhāna' were never considered as parts inseparable from an orignial Jātaka and that the Jātaka stories of inferior quality were

[1] The authorship is generally ascribed to Buddhaghosa by indigenous writers. Dham. Attha. is proved to be of Buddhaghosa and is anterior to Jāt. Aṭṭhakathā—*Vide* Pāli Literature of Ceylon, pp. 95 and 96.—Dr. Malalasekera.

not associated with the Bodhisatta whose introduction into them in the Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā takes away much of their original simplicity and beauty minimising at the same time the historical importance of the prose narration.

We shall now verify our statements by quotations from the former work (the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā), which edited from various Mss. by the late Mr. H. C. Norman and published by the Pāli Text Society of London, is now available complete in four volumes, volume one having two parts. More than fifty-four Jātakas, the titles of which are mostly wanting, have been cited in this work in four or five different ways, the study of which alone is calculated to bring to light the truth about their real nature and to this we shall presently turn.

Prof. M. Winternitz, Ph.D., in his article on 'Jātaka Gāthās and Jātaka Commentary' (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1928, March) has expressed his opinion as to the original form of Jātakas basing his argument on the statements from Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā, in the following words :—

"Not one, but several literary types are represented in the Jātaka collection. There are some Jātakas which were prose stories with only one or two or a few verses containing either the moral or the gist of the tale. In these cases it is likely enough that the commentary has preserved more or less of the old prose stories. Another type of Jātakas is that of 'Campū' in which the story itself is related alternately in prose and verse, in which case the commentary is often an expansion of the original prose text. But there are other Jātakas which originally consisted of Gāthās only: some of them, ballads in dialogue form, other ballads in a mixture of dialogue-verses and narrative stanzas, others again epics or fragments, and some even mere strings of moral maxims on some topic. In all these cases the entire prose belongs to the commentary." Of course, the Bodhisatta forms the chief centre of interest of all these different Jātakas.

To this very important finding we are now going to add

further evidence from the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā which will undoubtedly throw fresh light on the subject. The presentation of Jātakas in this work has been made in the following different ways :—

1. When the Teacher moralises on an occasion and refers to a well known Jātaka by name, he points out the title only which in Pāli, is expressed by 'Jātakaṃ katheti' as in the following :—

(*a*) "Bhikkhave bhaṇḍanakalahaviggahavivādā nām' ete anatthakārakā. Kalahaṃ nissāya hi laṭukikāpi sakunikā hatthināgaṃ jivitakhayaṃ pāpesi Laṭukika *Jātakaṃ kathetvā* Bhikkhave samaggā hotha mā vivadatha, vivādaṃ nissāya hi anekasahassavaṭṭakā jivitakkhayaṁ pattā ti Vaṭṭaka *Jātakaṃ kathesi*"—(Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 55).

(*b*) "Satthā āma Visākhe pāpikā va esā surā nāma, etaṃ hi nissāya aneke sattā anayavyasanaṃ pattā ti vatvā 'kadā pan' esā bhante uppannā, ti vutte, tassā uppattiṃ vitthārena kathetuṃ atītam āharitvā Kumbha-*Jātakaṃ kathesi* ti'—(Vol. III, p. 103).

(*c*) "na bhikkhave idān' eva pubbe pi mayhaṃ ñātisamāgame pokkharavassaṃ vassi yeva' ti vatvā Vessantara *Jātakaṃ kathesi*"—(Vol. III, pp. 163-64).

(*d*) "na bhikkhave idān' eva pubbe pi Devadatto nānappakārena mayham vadhāya parisakkati ti vatvā Kuruṅgamiga *jātakādini kathetvā*..."—(Vol. III, p. 152).

The examples quoted above will clearly show that the expression 'Jātakaṃ katheti' in the work is equivalent to simple reference to a Jātaka by name only, for drawing a moral and the story in which the past life of the Teacher may or may not be implicated, is not reproduced at all.

2. In the next place we shall see what is denoted by the expression "*idaṃ Jātakaṃ katheti*" as against 'Jātakaṃ katheti' in the above. The following will serve as examples :—

(*a*) "na bhikkhave idān' eva ti vatvā sabbajanassa appiye caṇḍe pharuse Bārānasiyaṃ Piṅgalarāje nāma mate mahājanassatuṭṭhabhāvaṃ dipetum—

Sabbo jano hiṃsito Piṅgalena
tasmiṃ mate paccayaṃ vedayanti

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY

piyo-nu te āsi akaṇhanetto
kasmā tuvaṃ rodasi dvārapāla;
Na me piyo āsi akaṇhanetto
bhāyāmi paccāgamanāya tassa
ito gato himseyya maccurājaṃ
So hiṃsito āneyya puna idhā' ti.

idaṃ Piūgalajātakaṃ kathesi." (Vol. I, Pt, 1, pp. 149-50.)

(*b*) "Sādhu sādhu Tissa evaṃ etaṃ emesaṃ hi sattānaṃ paṭhaviyam nipajjitvā amataṭṭhānaṃ nāma natthī ti vatvā.

'Upasāḷhakanāmānaṃ sahassāni catuddasa
asmiṃ padese daḍḍhāni natthi loke anāmataṃ
Yamhi saccañ ca dhammo ca ahiṃsā saññamo damo
etad ariyā sevanti etaṃ loke anāmatan' ti

imaṃ dukanipāte *Upasāḷhakajātakaṃ kathesi.*" (Vol. II, pp. 98-99.)

(*c*) "na bhikkhave idān 'eva pubbe pi esa parihino yevā ti vatvā,

Akkhī bhinnā paṭo naṭṭho sakhīgehe ca bhaṇḍanaṃ
ubhato paduṭṭhakammanto udakamhi thalamhi cā ti.

ādini jātākāni kathesi." (Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 145-46.)

Also, Parosata J. No. 101 F. I. p. 411 ; Kumbhila J. No. 224 F. II. p. 206 ; Kakaṇṭaka J. No. 170 F. II. p. 63 ; and verse p. 346 VI.

It is thus evident from the above examples that when a Jātaka is closed immediately after mentioning the verse or verses without the additon of 'samodhāna' or a separate moral attached to it, the expression 'idaṃ or imaṃ or ādi Jātakaṃ katheti' is invariably used after these verses which therefore must have been the original form of the Jātaka as known to our author who stressed the fact by 'idaṃ' together with 'Jātakaṃ katheti.' The matter will be more clear when this 'idaṃ Jātakaṃ katheti' is contrasted with 'idaṃ Jātakaṃ vitthārena katheti' in the next method.

3. The expression 'idaṃ Jātakaṃ katheti' after verses constituting the Jātaka is changed into 'idaṃ Jātakam vitthāretvā katheti or vitthāresi' whenever there is added to it a note of identification or a separate moral suitable for the occasion. The following are the examples :—

(*a*) "Satthā' na bhikdhave idān' eva pubbe pi Sāriputto kataññu katavedī yevā' ti vatvā tam attham pakāsetuṃ

Alinacittaṃ nissāya pahaṭṭhā mahati camū
Kosalaṃ senāsantuṭṭhaṃ jīvagāham agāhayī
Evaṃ nissayasampanno bhikkhu āraddhaviriyo
bhāvayaṃ kusalaṃ dhammaṃ yogakkhemassa pattiyā
pāpuneyyānupubbena sabbasaṃyojanakkhayan' ti

Idaṃ Dukanipāte *Alinacitta jātakaṃ vitthāretvā kathesi*: 'tadā kira vaḍḍhakīhi pādassa ārogakaraṇabhāvena kataṃ attano upakāraṃ ñatvā sabbasetahatthipotakassa dāyako ekacāri hatti Sariputtatthero ahosi ti, etc., etc. (Vol. II, p. 106).

(*b*) Satthā' pubbe p'ete gadrabhayoniyaṃ nibbattā pañcasata gadrabhā hutvā pañcasatānam ājāniyasindhavānaṃ allarasamuddika—pānakapitāvasesaṃ ucciṭṭhakasaṭaṃ udakena madditvā makacipilotikāhi parissāvitattā 'vālodakaṃ' ti saṃkhaṃ gataṃ apparasaṃ nihīnaṃ pivitvā madhumattā viya nadantā vicariṃsūti vatvā:

Vālodakaṃ apparasaṃ nihīnam.
pitvā mado jāyati gadrabhānaṃ
imañ ca pītvāna rasaṃ paṇītaṃ
mado na sañjāyati sindhavānaṃ

Appañ ca pītvāna nihīnajacco
So majjati tena janinda phuṭṭho
dhorayhasīlī ca kulamhi jāto
na majjati aggarasaṃ pivitvā' ti

idaṃ Vālodakajātakam vitthārena kathetā'evaṃ Bhikkhave sappurisā lobhadhammaṃ vivajjetvā sukhitakāle pi dukhitakāle pi nibbikārā va honti. (Vol. II. pp 155-56).

(*c*) "Satthā 'na Bhikkhave esa idān 'eva tumhākam lābhantarāyaṃ karoti, pubbe pi akāsi yeva ti vatvā tehi yācito atītam āharitvā :

Yo pubbe karanīyāni pacchā so kātuṃ icchati
varaṇakaṭṭhabhañjo va sa pacchā-m-anutappatī ti

jatākaṃ vitthāresi: tadā kira te bhikkhū pañcasatā mānavakā ahesuṃ, kusitam-ānavako ayaṃ bhikkhu ahosi, ācariyo pana tathāgato va ahosi ti. (Vol. III pp. 408-9).

(*d*) Satthā 'na bhikhhave idān' iva pūbbe p' aham etassa rasataṇhāya baddhamānassa avassayo jāto yevā 'ti vatvā tehi yācito tass' atthassa pakāsanatthaṃ ātītam āharitvā :

Na kir' atthi rasehi pāpiyo
āvāsehi vā santhavehí vā
vātamigaṃ gehanissitaṃ
vasam ānesi rasehi Sañjayó ti

Ekanipāte *imaṃ Vātamigajātakam vitthāretvā'* tadā Sundarasamuddo vātamigo ahosi, imaṃ pana gāthaṃ vatvā tassa vissajjāpetā rañño mahāmacco aham evā ti *jātakaṃ somodhānesi*. (Vol. IV, pp. 198-99).

Other instances of 'Vitthāra, Jātakas' in the work are :—

Uraṅga Jātaka (Vol III, p. 277) ; Babbu Jātaka (Vol. II, p. 152) ; Mahāpaduma Jātaka (Vol. III., p. 181) ; Akālarāvi Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 143) ; Nigrodha Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 148) ; Culladhanuggaha Jātaka (Vol. IV, p. 67) ; Sūkara Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 347), etc., etc.

Thus it will be evident from the above examples that the addition of the word 'vitthāra' or expansion is found in every case wherever a Jātaka in verse is augmented by a note of identification or by a further moralisation following it, in which the past life of the Teacher may or may not be involved. The force of 'idaṃ' or 'imaṃ' coming as it does immediately after the verse or verses together with 'vitthāreti' preceding the identification, makes the conclusion inevitable that ordinarily Jātakas existed in verses and that the portion dealing with identification was added afterwards showing 'atīta' or previous lives not only of the Teacher in connection with his followers, but also of other people independently of him with the main object of popularising the theory of Karma affecting man's life. Devoid of the 'vitthāraṃ' or the expansion in the shape of identification, a Jātaka was thus originally made up of a verse or verses embodying a past story with a simple moral.

4. In the fourth place we shall see that the prose narration without the aid of which the verse or verses of a Jātaka were unintelligible and which therefore, must have followed it from the very beginning was subject to variation. The prose narration or the 'atthuppati' (lit. interpretation) as it is called (Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 285) also known as 'atītavatthu' (Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 254)

is found attached to several Jātakas mentioned in our work. They are as follows :—

(1)	Hatthināga Jātaka	(Title not given)	Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 80-82.
(2)	Kappaṭaka Jātaka	Do.	Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 123-25.
(3)	Kesava Jātaka	Do.	Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 342-45.
(4)	Cullaseṭṭhi Jātaka	Do.	Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 250-54.
(5)	Kuddālapaṇḍita Jātaka	Do.	Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 311-13.
(6)	Suva Jātaka	Do.	Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 284-85.
(7)	Kuṭidusaka Jātaka	Do.	Vol. II, pp. 22-23.
(8)	Mahiṃsāsakamāra Jātaka	Do.	Vol. III, pp. 73-77.
(9)	Somadatta Jātaka	Do.	Vol. III, pp. 124-26.
(10)	Godharājā Jātaka	Do.	Vol. IV, pp. 154-56.
(11)	Kurudhamma Jātaka	Do.	Vol. IV, pp. 88-89.
(12)	Bahubhāni Jātaka	(Title given)	Vol. IV, pp. 91-92.

In the last case the prose narration is clearly separated from the Jātaka proper or the verse portion and the title of the Jātaka is mentioned which however is at variance with the corresponding title in Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā.

In every case the prose narration of these Jātakas is called a story of the past or 'atītaṃ' with which word it begins and ends serving the purpose of some 'dhammadesanā' or moral instruction.[1]

In the case of 'Suva Jātaka' No. (6) in the above, it is definitely suggested that the 'atthuppatti' was subject to change while the Jātaka proper or the verse Jātakā and the concluding part of the 'atthuppatti' remained the same as in the 'dasanipāta' of the original. After mentioning only a single verse out of the ten constituting the Jātaka proper our author sums up the prose portion thus :—

"Sabbaṃ Jātakaṃ dasanipāte āgatanayen" eva vitthāretabbaṃ atthuppatti yeva hi tattha ca idha ca nānā sesaṃ tādisaṃ eva"—(Vol. I. Pt II, pp. 284-85).

[1] 'Atītam āhari' and 'āharitvā Jātakaṃ Samodhānesi' seems to be the characteristic of this group.

The expression of such an opinion on the part of an eminent Buddhist scholar who was apparently relying upon a Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā different from that of Fausböll's edition, renders the whole collection of such narrative parts of doubtful historical value if not altogether unacceptable. The position will be more clear upon a comparison of the narrative parts of the Jātakas in Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā with the corresponding narratives of Fausböll's Jātaka collection. The prose portion therefore, has to be accepted with a degree of reservation. Descriptions unwarranted by the verse Jātakas should be subjected to careful scrutiny before they are accepted as pieces of historical evidence on the conditions of ancient India. In some cases the 'Atitavathu' is made to agree word for word with the 'paccuppanna vatthu and therefore the authenticity of both becomes questionable. We find statements like this : Sabbaṃ atītaṃ paccuppanna sadisam eva —p. 365 also p. 378, Vol. I. This is highly improbable.

Another important feature of these Jātakas with 'atthuppatti's,' is that they invariably have the word 'Samodhāna' in the expression 'Jātakaṃ samodhāneti' towards the end; and the meaning of 'samodhāna' as will appear from 'Kurudhamma Jātaka' No. (11) in the above, is 'proper understanding in a particular light.'[1]

The additional note in the form of a verse attached to this Jātaka clearly stating 'evaṃ dhārethā Jātakaṃ' for 'Samodhānaṃ' leaves no doubt as to the fact that originally 'Samodhāna' as a forced interpretation formed no part of a Jātaka and is to be looked upon as a later accretion.

The narrative parts of all these Jātakas except those that refer to the Bodhisatta, are perfectly free from any sort of reference to any previous birth of the Teacher and individually constitute an independent story of the past.

5. In the fifth place, we shall see that the prose part alone was not considered as Jātaka proper. The strongest proof of this

[1] Samodhāna = saṃ (proper) + avadhāna (understanding).

is afforded by the absence of the expression 'Jātakaṁ samodhāneti' or the word 'Jātaka' from such prose portions as are given shorn of the Jātaka verses. The following are the examples :—

(1) Duggatagahapti Jātaka —Vol. IV, p. 55.
(2) Saṇkha Jātaka —Vol. III, p. 448.
(3) Aggamahesi Jātaka —Vol. III, p. 297.
(4) Udda Jātaka —Vol. III, p. 141.
(5) Paccekabuddha Jātaka —Vol. I, P. II, pp. 224-25.
(6) Tagarasikhi Jātaka —Vol. IV, pp. 77-78.
(7) Sālika Jātaka —Vol. III, p. 33.

The titles are of our own making and could not be found in the text. They are invariably called 'Atītas' and in Nos. 5 and 6 of the above, the 'atīta' is denoted by 'Bhūtapubbaṃ' and 'Pubbakammaṃ' respectively. To this class of Jātakas, if we are to call them Jātakas at all, also belong those that have been traced in the Vinaya and the Nikāyas, all having the characteristic of 'Bhūtapubbaṃ' going before them but not the expression 'Jātakaṃ samodhāneti' towards the end. The story in prose is therefore technically not called a Jātaka.

Thus a Jātaka, as understood by the author of the Dhammapada Commentary, consisted of a verse or verses embodying a past episode with a narrative varying according to circumstances. We shall next discuss the ideal or the functions of Jātakas.

The connotation of the term 'Jātaka' as retained in Hindu Astrology appears to be the astrological calculation of a nativity, probably derived from still earlier application of the word meaning simply nativity or the fact of being born, in which sense it has been found in various works such as Bhāgavata Purāna : Bṛhat Jātaka, Kathāsaritsāgara, Rājatarangini, etc., (*vide* Sir Monier-William's 'A Sanskrit English Dictionary,' p. 418). In other words, the life-story of a being as calculated at its birth, or simply, its life-story may be looked upon as its Jātaka which curiously enough, exactly fits in with the sense conveyed by each verse Jātaka if we deduct from it the portions dealing with 'Samodhāna' and

'Veyyākarana', *i.e.*, its 'Vitthāra' parts. The 'paccuppanna vatthu' as forming no part of a Jātaka has never been placed in our work under it as has been done in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā edited by Fausböl.

From the popularity which the word Jātaka enjoyed and the fact, that Buddhism never coined any new word as a vehicle of its especial message but used old words with new interpretations, it may not be altogether amiss to state, that in pre-Buddhistic days 'Jātakas' were verses of various types dwelling on the lives of human beings and of animals of bygone ages preserved in memory by the people. The Buddhists took over these versified stories and from the time of the Buddha onwards have manipulated them in diverse ways making themselves solely responsible for their preservation up till now.[1]

From 'Culla Niddesa,' a very old commentary on the 'Parāyana Vagga' of 'Sutta Nipāta,' dating as early as 1st or 2nd century B.C. we come to learn that the number of 'Jātakas' as known at the time, was five hundred only and that they were stories of the previous births of the Teacher as also of other people, utilised for giving moral instructions put into the mouth of the Teacher himself.

"Bhagavā pañca jātakasatāni bhāsanto attano ca paresaṃ ca atītaṃ ādisati"—(Culla Niddesa, p. 80).

But upon a close examination when it is found that these births have each a 'nāma' and a 'gotta,' we find it indeed, difficult to include the animal births of the Jātaka-collection in them.

"Bhagavā attano atītaṃ ekaṃ pi jātim ādisati, dve pi jātiyo, etc. Amutra āsiṃ evaṃ nāmo evaṃ gotto evaṃ vaṇṇo, etc."

"Bhagavā paresaṃ atītaṃ ekaṃ pi jātim ādisati dve pi jātiyo, etc., same as above"—(P. T. S. Culla Niddesa, p. 79).

The Bodhisatta idea in Jātakas maintaining that they are in a progressive order beginning from the birth of Sumedha

[1] For further definition *vide* 'Development of Jātaka Vatthu in advance.'

Brāhman to that of Gotama Buddha,[1] is completely absent. And if we accept all these five hundred births as human births only, indicated by the legends of the Buddha Vipassi, Mahā Sudassana, Mahā Govinda, and Maghādeva, cited as examples therein, we need not have any difficulty in finding out the required number as the 'atīta' story given on page 319, Com. Vol. III alone supplies $500 \times 3 = 1500$ human births of the Teacher himself (*cf.* F. Vol. I, pp. 308-10).

With the introduction of the Bodhisatta theory along with that of the 'pāramitā's, perhaps borrowed from Mahāyāna doctrine,[2] the Jātaka collection of old assumed altogether a different aspect in new Buddhism. Stories of notable animals henceforward received recognition as previous birth stories of the Teacher and of his disciples.

We have already remarked in a previous article (Bhārhut Jātakas in a New Light) that these Jātaka stories were utilised in the Buddhavamsa and Cariyā-piṭaka in better forms and with higher morals than their originals to show the training period of the Bodhisatta and that they were not called Jātakas but *cariyas* though they included animal births. In the 'Milinda' the Jātaka stories also not called Jātakas, were similarly manipulated to show the high moral conduct of the Bodhisatta especially in relation to the opposite tendency of his antagonist Devadatta in their previous births, including animal births to a greater extent. But, at any rate, any and every story of the Jātaka collection was not regarded as a Bodhisatta Jātaka, which as a rule, was only applicable to the case of those with very high morals as befitting the career of a would-be Buddha. The forced usage of every Jātaka as a

1 " Dīpaṅkarapādamūlasmin hi katābhinihārassa Mahāsattassa yāva Vessantara attabhāvā cavitva Tusitapure nibbatti tāva pavatto kathāmaggo Dūrenidānaṃ nāma."

" Apaṇṇakādini purā jātakani Mahesinā
Yāni yesu ciraṃ Satthā lokanittharaṇatthiko
anante bodhisambhāre paripācesi nāyako."

—Nidānakathā, F. Vol. I, pp. 1-2.

2 *Vide* Dr. N. Dutt's 'some aspects of Mahāyāna in relation to Hinayāna.'

Bodhisatta Jātaka in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā of the 5th century A.D. in Ceylon, has to a great extent deteriorated the original simplicity and therefore the historical importance of these stories as will be evident from a comparison of the identical stories with or without the Bodhisatta as found in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā and Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā respectively.

From examples already quoted, it will be found that the Jātakas of Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā group themselves into five separate classes representing different stages of development according as they illustrate (A) only morals, (B) the previous careers of people other than the Teacher, (C) the previous careers of his disciples in connection with which his own past life is slightly touched, (D) the previous career of the Teacher as the hero of a story, and (E) the exalted life of the Bodhisatta.

Class (A) :—The following 'Jātakas' having no bearing on the previous life of any one connected with the occasion, illustrate only morals :—

(1) and (2) Laṭukikā Jātaka and Vaṭṭaka Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 55) in which it is pointed out that 'united we stand, divided we fall.'

(3) Upasāḷhaka Jātaka (Vol. II, pp. 98-99) showing that there is no place free from death.

(4) Vālodaka Jātaka (Vol. II, pp. 155-56) inculcating that wise men are never moved by the ups and downs of life.

(5) Mandhātu Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 240) showing that there is no contentment in sensual enjoyment.

(6) Uraga Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 271) illustrating that the wise are not affected by the removal from their midst of their dearest relations through death, a condition which is inevitable.

And (7) Mātuposakanāgarājā Jātaka (Vol. IV, p. 13) points out that serving parents was an ancient virtue.

Class (B) :—The Jātakas of this class, in addition to serving as moral lessons, were each spoken with reference to the past story of a character or characters other than the Teacher determining their present characters and they may be looked upon as

illustrations of the doctrine of Karma affecting all creatures. They are the following :—

(1) Piṅgala Jātaka spoken with reference to Devadatta's cruelty (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 149-50).

(2) Ubhatobhaṭṭha Jātaka spoken with reference to Devadatta's loss of support (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 146), *cf.* F. Vol. I, pp. 482-83).

(3) Kuṭidusaka Jātaka with regard to the conduct of Mahākassapa and of his two disciples in a previous birth (Vol. II, pp. 22-23).

(4) Tuṇḍila Jātaka spoken with reference to the previous lives of a group of bhikkhus who became arahats upon hearing a sermon (Vol. II, pp. 32-33).

(5) Alinacitta Jātaka spoken regarding the previous lives of Rādhathera and Sāriputta (Vol. II, p. 106).

(6) Sālika Jātaka spoken with reference to the past life of a fowler in relation to a 'bhikkhu' (Vol. III, p. 33).

(7) Kumbha Jātaka spoken regarding the conduct of drunken girls in the presence of the Buddha in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 103).

(8) Udda Jātaka spoken with reference to the previous conduct of Upananda Sākyaputta and of two monks quarrelling over the possession of a valuable blanket and two upper-robes (Vol. III, p. 141).

(9) Parosahassa Jātaka spoken regarding the eloquence of Sāriputta in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 230).

(10) Naṭaitthi Jātaka explaining the previous life of Rohini, a sister of Thera Sāriputta (Vol. III, p. 297).

(11) Sūkara Jātaka spoken with reference to the conduct of Sāriputta towards Luḷudāyi in a previous birth (Vol. III, pp. 346-47).

(12) Kaṭāhaka Jātaka spoken regarding the previous life of the monk Tissadahara (Vol. III, pp. 358-59).

(13) Kāka Jātaka spoken with reference to the conduct of several bhikkhus at the death of a female lay disciple who had served them well when alive (Vol. III, p. 423).

(14) Bahubhāni Jātaka spoken in illustration of the past life of the talkative Kokālika bhikkhu (Vol. IV, pp. 91-92).

(15) Mahilāmukha Jātaka, containing the story of an elephant illustrating the frivolous nature of a certain monk in a past existence (Vol. IV, pp. 96-97).

The principal characteristic of these Jātakas is that they are perfectly free from any reference to the previous life of the Teacher or to any career of the Bodhisatta. The fact, that without a past life of the Teacher or the Bodhisatta these stories were recognised as 'Jātakas,' is sufficient to establish the contention that originally they were fables serving as moral lessons for mankind. In the second stage, *i.e.*, in the time of the Buddha, they were used both for moral lessons and for illustrating the doctrine of Karma forming the back-bone of his religion with reference to particular people.

Class (C) :—Our next class of Jātakas will be those as are given in contracted forms in verse with a view to illustrating other peoples' conduct in connection with which the past life of the Teacher is only implied and is not expressly mentioned. They are :—

(1) Lakkhaṇa Jātaka spoken regarding Sāriputta as a son of the Buddha in a previous birth (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 143-44) —*cf*. F. I, p. 144).

(2) Viraka Jātaka spoken regarding Devadatta's imitation of the Teacher in a previous birth (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 144)—*cf*. F. II, p. 150.

(3) Garuḷa Jātaka spoken for the same purpose as above (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 144)—*cf*. F. II, p. 163.

(4) Virocana Jātaka spoken for the same purpose as above (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 145)—*cf*. F. I, p. 490.

(5) Kuruñgamiga Jātaka spoken regarding Devadatta's attempt to murder the Buddha in a previous birth (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 145)—*cf*. F. I, p.173.

(6) Javasakuna Jātaka spoken regarding Devadatta's ungratefulness in a previous birth (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 145).

(7) Kaṇhausabha Jātaka spoken with regard to the inability of other people to bear the burden of the Teacher in a previous birth (Vol. III, pp. 212-13).

(8) Nandivisāla Jātaka spoken for the same purpose as above (Vol. III, pp. 212-13).

(9) Kuṇḍakasindhavapotaka Jātaka spoken with reference to the Teacher's accepting from Puṇṇā a meal consisting of cakes in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 325).

(10) 'Yathā nadi ca pantho' Jātaka (*cf*. Anabhirati Jātaka of F. I, p. 301) spoken with reference to the inconsistent nature of women as explained by the Teacher in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 349).

(11) Simple reference to Vessantara Jātaka in prose illustrating a particular miraculous power of the Teacher while he was born as prince Vessantara in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 164).

These Jātakas, all of which excepting No. 11, are given in verse, present the Teacher in an additional note attached to each, in a form less prominent than his associates the depicting of whose characters appears to be the main object of the author. In them the character of the Teacher as expressed in prose undoubtedly serves as the background to the forefront of which his satellites are made to appear in deeper colour than himself. The mention of 'idaṃ' or 'imaṃ' or 'ādi' Jātaka immediately after the verse of each having practically no reference to the previous life of the Teacher or the Bodhisatta, further corroborates the fact of the existence of Jātakas in verse embodying independent stories.

Class (D) :—In this group will be placed such Jātakas as contain in the 'vitthāra' or Samodhāna parts of each the iden-

tification of the principal hero with the Teacher in a past existence but having in the narrative part, wherever it is found, no reference to him at all neither he is called the Bodhisatta in the Samodhāna. These are :—

(1) Kappaṭa Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 123-25); (2) Rukkhadevatā Jātaka (Vol. II, pp. 14-19); (3) Babbu Jātaka (Vol. II, p. 152); (4) Akālarāvikukkuṭa Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 143); (5) Nigrodha Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 148); (6) Varanakaṭṭhabhañja Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 409); (7) Saṅkha Jātaka (Vol. III, pp. 445-48); (8) Culladhanuggha Jātaka (Vol. IV, pp. 66-67); (9) Godharājā Jātaka (Vol. IV, pp. 154-56); (10) Vātamiga Jātaka (Vol. IV, pp. 198-99); (11) Cullaseṭṭhi Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 250-54); (12) Suva Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 284-85); (13) Kuddālapaṇḍita Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 311-13); (14) Kesava Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 342-45) and (15) Somadatta Jātaka (Vol. III, pp. 124-25).

The narrative parts of these Jātakas having no mention of the Teacher constitute independent stories and the identification which occurs in the Samodhāna parts, apparently seems to be the result of an after-thought.

The 'Samodhāna,' the narrative part of which is not given, of the verse Jātaka mentioned on page 319, Vol. III, contains reference to $500 \times 3 = 1500$ births of the teacher as a member of the same family standing in close relation to a certain Brahmin and his wife living in Sāketa and is in agreement with the account of the same Jātaka (Sāketa Jātaka, F. I, pp. 308-10) in Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā.

The separate arrangement of these Jātakas as distinguished from the list of Bodhisatta Jātakas containing the Bodhisatta in their narrative parts to be given next, will no doubt testify to the fact that even in the 5th century A. D. the Bodhisatta idea in every birth story, be it of the Teacher in a different capacity, had not commended itself to the talents of the great scholars of Ceylon. As a matter of fact, the ideal of the Bodhisatta, as

will be evident from the Bodhisatta Jātakas coming next, appears to be much higher than that of an ordinary Jātaka of the Teacher. The Bodhisatta Jātakas invariably contain each a very lofty moral and their percentage in the list of the Jātakas in our work is very small being 11 per cent. or 6 in 54. Therefore, in the opinion of the author of the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, it seemed that the Bodhisatta existence of the Teacher was of a far nobler type than his ordinary existence in a previous birth.

Class (E) :—This group includes only the Bodhisatta Jātakas with a short note on the moral contained in each :—

(1) Hatthināga Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 80-82) in which the Bodhisatta then born as the leader of a herd of elephants forgives his deadliest foe out of regard for the yellow robe which he had on.

(2) Devadhamma Jātaka (Vol. III, pp. 73-77) in which the Bodhisatta then born as Mahiṃsāsaka kumāra saves the lives of his two younger brothers from the wrath of a mighty Yakkha by instructing him in the 'Devadhamma' or the religion of gods.

(3) Mahāpaduma Jātaka (Vol. III, pp. 181-82) in which the Bodhisatta born as a prince, rejected the immoral proposal of his step-mother, at whose instigation he was ordered by his father to be thrown down from a precipice and was rescued by a Nāga king receiving him on his broad hood.

(4) Duggatagahapati Jātaka (Vol. IV, pp. 54-55). In this birth the Bodhisatta born as a poor Brahmin yearned for cultivating 'jhāna' and 'abhiññā' in a forest and stepped out of his home leaving his young child and wife asleep at night.

(5) Kurudhamma Jātaka (Vol. IV, pp. 8-89). The Bodhisatta born as a righteous monarch observed in this existence, the 'Kurudhamma' or the practice of the five precepts and by his example and gifts especially of a white elephant, saved the kingdom of Kalinga from drought and famine.

(6) Khadirangāra Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 447). It is emphasised in this Jātaka that the Bodhisatta birth of the Teacher causing lotuses to rise from a heap of ashes, was equally wonderful and dignified.

Thus, in the afore-mentioned groups we have successfully traced the manipulation of Jātakas as an exponent of Buddhism giving rise to Bodhisattaism in several stages. It is now clear that the Bodhisatta idea was not an inherent feature of the original Jātakas. Moreover, the fact, that they were utilised in more developed forms when associated with the Teacher, in early Nikāyas, as 'Suttantas' or 'Bhutapubbas' or 'Apadānas,' in 'Cariyapiṭaka,' as 'cariya' stories, and in the 'Milinda,' as narratives without the title Jātaka,—seems to strengthen our conclusion that originally popular folklores went under the name of Jātakas which early Buddhism in its desire to avoid vulgarity in connection with the life of the Teacher, shunned as much as possible; and it was not until some time after the beginning of the Christian era, that the Jātakas came to be directly associated with his life. Even then, only the more enlightened Jātakas were regarded as the previous birth stories of the Teacher or of his Bodhisatta.

We shall now conclude, adding a short note on their nomenclature. It appears from his modes of presentation that the author is perfectly silent over the nomenclature of most of the Jātakas he has quoted. By simply stating that the Jātaka is concluded, he has left the task of selecting the title entirely to the fancy of his readers. In the case where he mentions one, as in the Bahubhāni Jātaka, it appears to be at variance with the title of the corresponding Jātaka in Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā having Kacchapa Jātaka instead. This omission or variation, whatever it is, can only be accounted for by the fact that the exact titles of these Jātakas were not yet settled. It becomes apparent then, that originally the verse-Jātakas existing in the form of an anthology like the verses of the

Dhammapada, had no titles to distinguish them and individual authors when utilising them in their works, gave such titles to them as, in their opinion, suited best their narrative parts mostly remaining implicit rather than explicit.[1] The most correct way of designating these verse-Jātakas, would be, to call them after the first two or three words with which each begins, a suggestion having foundation in the fact that a particular pillar-Jātaka of Bhārhut ('Yaṃ bramaṇo avayesi' Jātaka) is exactly designated by the first three words of the verse it contains.[2] Thus, the nomenclature, in most cases, happens to be a good indicator of the stage to which a Jātaka belongs and also of the ideal which it sets up.

1 "The canonical Jātaka was a verse-Jātaka, and handed down in different Mss. from those of the Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā, which consists of Gāthās and prose"—Prof. M. Winternitz in his article already referred to.

2 There are many such Jātakas in Bharhut and even in the Jātaka Collections of Fausböll their mention could not be avoided; *c. f.* Kassapanandiya Jātaka No. 312, Matarodana Jātaka No. 375, etc.

MANIPULATION AND ANTIQUITY OF JĀTAKAS

(Pre-Nikāya Origin of Jātakas)

The verses constituting the Jātaka proper, the story contained in them and narrated in prose was called 'Vatthu'[1] or 'Atthuppatti'[2] while its 'Vitthāra' or expansion was in the shape of either the identification of the past characters with the present ones[3] or an extra moral made suitable for the occasion.[4] The special denomination of the portion dealing with identification was 'samodhāna' which meant proper grasping or understanding in a particular light[5] being thus equivalent to the Sanskrit word 'Samavadhāraṇaṁ' from the root √dhā meaning 'to carry' or 'to understand.'

The narrative part or the prose portion was again subject to variation not only under different or same titles in different schools (*cf.*, Nalini Jātaka in 'Mahāvastu' and in 'Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā') but also under the same title and in the same school.[6]

The original Jātaka book was thus an anthology of these Jātaka verses with stories remaining for the most part implicit and no titles to distinguish them ('Original Nature of Jātakas').

The proposition which naturally presents itself in this connection, is whether the Jātakas as such might not be looked upon as pre-Buddhistic with occasional Buddhistic colourings given to the collection when forming a part of the Buddhist Canon.

The opinion in favour of assigning to the 'Jātakas' a purely Buddhistic origin seems to be based on the assumption

1 (Dh. A, Vol. IV, p. 83.)
2 (Dh. A, Vol. I, P. II, p. 285.)
3 (Dh A, Vol. II, p. 106.)
4 (Dh. A, Vol. II, p. 156.)
5 (Dh. A, Vol IV, p.89.)
6 Suva Jātaka, note Dh. A, Vol. I, P. II, p. 285.

that they originated some time after the compilation of the first four Nikāyas, *viz.*, the Digha, the Majjhima, the Saññutta and the Aṅguttara in which some of them are found only as moral stories without any reference to the Bodhisatta. Prof. Dr. Winternitz while discussing their origin in the 'Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,' Vol. VII, p. 491, writes: "It was thus only necessary to identify the hero of any character of a story with the Bodhisatta in order to turn any tale however secular or even frivolous into a Jātaka". Then, as to its date he says 'some of the stories which were afterwards turned into Jātakas are told in the Suttas as simple tales without any reference to the Bodhisatta.' In other words, the conception of Jātakas is not only entirely Buddhistic but is even posterior to the Suttas or Suttantas of the first four Nikāyas which themselves form a collection to which a date is assigned much later than the Buddha himself. After their composition the Jātakas as a separate book were incorporated with the Khuddaka Nikāya in the Pali Canon.

This is a very important point in the whole question and all the more so because the word 'Jātaka' is conspicuously absent in the early Nikāyas referred to above in connection with all the stories which recur as Jātakas in the Jātaka book. The word Jātaka occurs in the Aṅguttara Nikāya only in connection with the nine-fold divisions of the doctrine of the Master.[1] But as a matter of fact, even the stories of Suttantas which are associated with the past lives of 'Gotama Buddha' are not called Jātakas though they retain all the characteristics of a 'Jātaka' in the generally accepted sense of the term. The argument raised is What was the reason of the compilers of Nikāyas for withholding the term 'Jātaka' if it was already adopted? The reply generally given is, that with the introduction of Bodhisatta-ism every tale of the

[1] idhāvuso Sāriputta bhikkhu dhammaṇ pariyāpuṇāti suttaṃ, geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇa ṃ gāthaṃ udānaṃ itivuttakaṃ Jātakaṃ abbhutadhammam vedallam, etc., etc.

—P.361 A. N. Part III (P. T. S.), Chap. LI, Dhammikavagga.

early Nikāyas or Vinaya, whether previously connected or unconnected with a past life of Gotama, came to be recognised as a past existence of the Buddha fulfilling the conditions of Buddhahood under the special designation of a 'Jātaka,' which therefore emanating from the Suttanta literature marks the beginning of the Jātaka collections in the whole field of Buddhism. The notion therefore, that a Jātaka is a previous birth story of only Gotama Buddha while passing as a Bodhisatta, is inevitably bound up with this assertion.

We have already dealt with the subject as elaborately as possible in the two previous articles entitled 'Bhārhut Jātakas in a New Light' and 'Original Nature of Jātakas,' pointing out in no uncertain terms that the Bodhisatta idea was in no way responsible for the origin of Jātakas. For clearness' sake we shall reiterate some of the general grounds on which such an assumption that the Jātakas are a post-Nikāya collection serving as illustration of the Bodhisatta-Pāramitā theory, was found untenable.

Our reasons may be summed up as follows :—

(1) Mention is made of 'Jātakas' in the Vinaya (Sutta-Vibhaṅga, Part I, pp. 8-9) not only in connection with the doctrine (not life) of the Buddha Gotama but also with respect to the doctrine of each of the six previous Buddhas, *viz.*, Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Konāgamana and Kassapa, thereby definitely proving that the conception of Jātakas did not certainly arise with the Bodhisatta of Gotama Buddha but with his doctrine.

(2) Except in the 'Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā' all the Jātaka stories are not necessarily associated with the previous lives of Gotama Buddha (*vide* all the Jātakas in classes A and B of the article 'Original Nature of Jātaka'). In this respect the Jātakas behave in the same way as Avadānas which consist of stories of the previous births not only of the Teacher but also of his disciples and of other Buddhas as well.

(3) One Jātaka might encompass more than one birth story. As a matter of fact, the 'Sāketa Jātaka' No. 68 of Volume I, includes an account of as many as 1,500 (wrongly called 3,000) birth-stories on the basis of a single verse.

(4) Episodes of the same birth-story, on the other hand, may be found narrated under different Jātakas (*vide* Alambhusā Jātaka No. 523, Vol. V, and Nalini Jātaka, No. 526, Vol. V; also Gāmani Jātaka No. 8, Vol. I, and Samvara Jātaka No. 462, Vol. II). It is clearly expressed in the Gāmani Jātaka thus :

"Imasmiṃ pana Jātake paccuppannavatthuñ ca atītavatthuñ ca ekādasanipāte Saṃvara Jātake āvibhavissati, vatthum hi tasmiñ ca imasmiñ ca ekasadisam eva, gāthā pana nānā."—F., Vol. I, p. 136.

It is thus clear that it was different verses and their groupings which formed different Jātakas dealing with particular episodes and not the different existences of the Bodhisatta.

(5) Jātakas are still traceable in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā with designation after the verses as Apaṇṇaka Jātaka No. 1; Maṇgala Jātaka No. 87; Giridanta Jātaka No. 184; Kimpaka Jātaka No. 85; Dhamma Jātaka No. 57; Kāma Jātaka No. 467; etc. bearing less on the main topic.

(6) The idea of 'Bodhisatta' is divergent not only in the Jātakas of different schools but in the same Jātaka of different versions. Thus in the Mahāvastu and in Sanskrit Avadāna, the horned sage 'Isisiṃgiya,' who falls a victim to passion, is the hero and the Bodhisatta; whereas in the Pāli Jātaka collection, his father at whose admonition he successfully wards off the evil, is the Bodhisatta (*vide* 'Nalini Jātaka' in Mahāvastu and in Fausböll's Jātaka collection). This no doubt proves that the authors have been very free, nay frivolous, in their application of the term Bodhisatta on to the old Jātaka stories which must have been free from it.

The same episode of a particular birth-story finds expression in different Jātakas which are differentiated as Mahā (big) or Culla (short) according to the kind of verse used. Thus

'Mahāsuka Jātaka' No. 429 and Cullasuka Jātaka No. 430 are but the same story represented in bigger and smaller verses respectively.

These are the grounds which prove most strongly that the Jātakas were originally verses and are sufficient to counteract any inclination which may be still lingering in favour of ascribing to them at the time of their formation, a motive for depicting the Bodhisatta in different births.

Decidedly, the Suttas of the Nikāyas are not the exponents of the Bodhisatta theory which, as we have already pointed out, was incapable of standing without the twenty-four predecessors of Gotama Buddha unknown to them. Hence, there is still some possibility of the Jātakas in their non-Bodhisatta forms to have emanated from these Suttas. To determine their exact positions we shall immediately set ourselves to the discussion of the matter. A clear instance of a Suttanta founded upon a Jātaka story in so far as it is related in verse will, it is hoped, solve our problem.

Fortunately for us, the story of the Brahmin Jotipāla is found in four different works of no little importance, *viz.*, (1) in the Aṅguttara Nikāya, (2) in the Mahā Govinda Suttanta of the Digha Nikāya, (3) in the Sārabhaṅga Jātaka of Jātaka collection and (4) in the Cariyapiṭaka.

It is conceded that the Aṅguttara Nikāya in presenting the story of Jotipāla along with six other sages of similar nature in a very general way without identifying them with the Buddha, has preserved the story in a form which, if not the earliest, is much earlier than the Mahā Govinda Suttanta which identifies the sage Jotipāla with the Buddha and which must therefore be looked upon as the later development of the former.

The passage in the Aṅguttara runs thus :—

" Sunetto Mugapakko ca Aranemi ca brāhmaṇo
Kuddālako ahu satthā Hatthipālo ca mānavo
Jotipālo ca Govindo ahu satta purohito.
Ahiṃsakā atītaṃse cha satthāro yasassino

nirāmaganbhā karuṇe vimuttā kāmasaññojanātigā
Kāmarāgaṃ virājetvā brahmalokupagā ahu
Ahesuṃ sāvakā tesaṃ anekānī satāni pi
nirāmagandhā karuṇe vimuttā kāmasaññojanātigā
Kāmarāgaṃ virājetvā brahmalokupagā ahu
—(Aṅguttara N., Part III, P.T.S. p. 373.)

To all intents and purposes the above statement is far from representing the full story of how each sage especially in this case, the sage Jotipāla, happened to be in possession of sensual enjoyments of which sufficient hint is given and then renounced them giving himself up to the meditation of kindly thoughts attaining after death the Brahma-heaven.

The Jātaka, on the other hand, gives in detail the story of Jotipāla as a very successful royal archer with the title of Sara-bhaṅga in full enjoyment of earthly pleasures which he renounced afterwards for the life of a hermit and has shown further, how by cultivating thoughts of compassion he became a well-known teacher of mankind showing the path to Brahmaloka to many thousand disciples who gathered round him. The Jātaka collection also contains stories of the six other teachers in more or less detailed forms.

Now, taking into consideration the fact that the details of the Jātaka story contain much that is non-Buddhistic scrupulously avoided in the Nikāya, it may be safely asserted that on these details the general observation of the Aṅgutta was formed later on.

Thus speaks the teacher Jotipāla in the Jātaka, in reply to a question of Indra anxious to learn the attributes of a truly wise man who after death passes on to Brahmaloka :

"Sevetha vaddhe nipune bahussute
Uggāhako vā paripucchako siyā
Suneyya sakkacca subhāsitāni
evaṃkaro paññavā hoti macco

Sa paññavā kāmaguṇe avekkhati
aniccato dukkhato rogato ca
evaṃvipassi pajahāti chandaṃ
dukkhesu kāmesu mahabbhayesu
Sa vitarāgo pavineyya dosaṃ
mettaṃ cittaṃ bhāvaye appamānam
Sabbesu bhutesu nidhāya daṇddaṃ
anindito Brahmaṃ upeti thānan ti.'

The Buddhist doctrine of 'anattaṃ' and 'nibbānaṃ' is absent in the reply which thus embodies the pre-Buddhistic notion of religion which at its best shows the way to the attainment of Brahmaloka only, falling far short of the ideal of 'Nibbāna.' The Jātaka then comes to a close without even stating in verse that the sage actually realised the Brahma-heaven after death. The Aṅguttara in summing up the details of all the stories with the observation that all of the seven 'purohitas' attained Brahmaloka after death 'Brahmalokūpagā ahu' must therefore be recognised as the record of a later date. Moreover, in overlooking the lay period of their lives found stressed in the Jātakas, the Aṅguttara Nikāya further confirms our view that the vulgar element of the Jātakas was shunned as much as possible in the Nikāya literature, perhaps due to the Teacher abstaining from it himself.

"———iti vā iti evarūpāya tiracchāna-kathāya paṭivirato Samaṇo Gotamo ti."——Digha Nikaya, Vol. I, p. 8; and for 'tiracchānakathā, *vide* 'Brahmajālasutta' of the Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I, pp. 7-8.

With reference to the moral of the stories intended by the author pointing out the retribution of those who injured the sages 'isis' the Aṅguttara observes the following :

" Ye te isi bāhirake vītarāge samāhite
paduṭṭhamanasaṅkappo yo naro paribhāsati
bahuñ ca so pasavati apuññaṃ tādiso naro
Yo c'ekam diṭṭhisampannaṃ bhikkhuṃ Buddhassa sāvakaṃ

1 *cf.* Mahāvastu has—"स्वर्गमुपेति स्थानं" instead, III. p. 373.

paduṭṭhamanasaṅkappo yo naro paribhāsati
ayaṃ tato bahutaram apuññam pasave naro."

—Aṅguttara Nikāya, Part III, pp. 372-73.

The above statement though very brief is not free from the stamp of Buddhism wherein the disciples, not to speak of the Teacher, are spoken of as enjoying a position better than these sages of old. For, one injuring a follower of the Buddha commits a sin of a greater magnitude than another injuring the teachers of 'Brahmaloka.' The details of punishment meted out to those who harmed a disciple of the sage Jotipāla and other sages of old, are given in the Jātaka as follows :

" Yathā ahū Daṇḍakī Nālikiro
atth' Ajjuno kalābu cā pi rājā
tesaṃ gatiṃ bruhi supāpakamminam
katth' upapannā isinam viheṭhakā ti

Kisam pi Vaccham avakiriya Daṇḍakī
ucchinnamūlo sajano saraṭṭho
Kukkulanāme nirayamhi paccati
tassa pulliṅgāni patanti kāye

Yo saññate pabbajita avañcasi
dhammam bhanante samaṇe adusake
tam Nālikiram sunakhā parattha
samgamma khādanti vipphandamānam
Ath' Ajjuno niraye sattisūle
avamsiro patito uddhapādo
Aṅgīrasam Gotamam heṭhayitvā
khantim tapassim cirabrahmacārim."

—Jātaka No. 522, Vol. V, pp. 143-44.

The non-Buddhistic names in the above Jātaka have been very sedulously kept back in the very general observation of the Aṅguttara which must have had, therefore, the Jātaka as its basis and so there cannot be the slightest doubt as to which was the predecessor of the other.

It has already been remarked that the 'Mahā Govinda Suttam' identifying the Teacher Jotipāla under the title of Mahā

Govinda with the Buddha in a previous birth, is posterior to the Aṅguttara story which is itself based on the Jātaka. The Jātaka story, therefore, must be still more anterior to the Mahā Govinda Suttaṃ and this is precisely borne out by an analysis of the two. As a matter of fact, the 'Suttanta' is a further development of the Jātaka story and is practically an improvement upon the older tale both as to its ideal and the status of the Brahmin Jotipāla.

The archer Jotipāla of the Jātaka becomes a 'purohita' in the Aṅguttara and in the Suttanta he is a 'purohita' not only of one king but of six other kings as well.

" Atha kho Mahā Govinda Brahmano (Jotipālo) satta ca rājāno khattiye muddhāvasitte rajje anusāsi."

In addition, he also teaches seven big Brahmin families and seven hundred Brahmin disciples.

"Satta ca brāhmaṇa mahāsāle satta ca nahātakasatāni mante vācesi."

This is no inconsiderable part of his character and is certainly an improvement upon the Jātaka tale.

As to the main topic, our Suttanta takes up the thread exactly where it ends in the Jātaka with the express purpose of inculcating not only that the meditation and diffusion of 'mettā bhāvanā' (friendly thoughts) adding three others, *viz.*, muditā, karuṇā and upekhā, lead to the attainment of Brahma-heaven after death, but that the actual realisation of this state is possible in this very life without much difficulty, noting in conclusion that such realisation is after all, far below the standard of Nibbāna.

" Yo vassike cattāro mase patisallīyati karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyati, so Brahmānaṃ passati Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati manteti ti."

In conclusion the Suttanta says,

"Sarām ahaṃ Pañcasikha ahaṃ tena samayena Mahā Govindo brāhmaṇo ahosiṃ. Ahaṃ tesam sāvakānaṃ Brahmaloka sahavyatāya maggaṃ desesiṃ. Tam kho pana Pañcasikha brahmacariyaṃ na

nibbidāya na virāgāya na nirodhāya na upasamāya na abhiññāya na sambodhāya na nibbāṇāya samvattati yāva Brahmalokūpapattiyā."

The special object of having a separate Jotipāla story in the Mahā Govinda Suttam seems to be to give a clear definition or rather an exposition of the negative side of this attainment of Brahmaloka, featuring the aspect in a true Buddhistic spirit, wherein lies the main struggle. The Jātaka' stresses the positive side whereas our Suttanta, perfectly aware of it, dilates upon the negative side absent in the Jātaka. The Suttanta speaks with certainty that it fully understands what is implied by abandonment of egoism (hitvā mamattaṃ), feeling oneness in solitude (meditation?) 'ekodhibhutaṃ,' and cultivation of friendly thoughts "karuṇādhimuttaṃ," but it does not precisely understand what is signified by carnality to be got rid of ('anirā magandhā,') an explanation of which next forms the chief subject matter of the text :

"Ke āmagandhā manujesu Brahme
Ete avidvā idha brūhi dhīra
Ken' āvuṭā vāti pajā kuruṭṭharū
Āpāyikā nivuta-brahmalokā ti
Kodho mosa-vajjam nikati ca dobho
Kadariyatā atimāno usuyyā
Icchā vicikicchā paraheṭhanā ca
Lobho ca doso ca mado ca moho
Etesu yuttā anirāmagandhā
Āpāyikā nivutā Brahmalokā ti."

These were undoubtedly the later development of the concluding verses of the Jātaka having at the end :

"Sabbesu bhūtesu nidhāya daṇḍam
Anindito Brahmam upeti ṭhānan ti"

and prove with the utmost certainty that the Jātaka proper or the verses being of pre-Nikāya times served as the basis of the Suttanta Stories.

The story of Mahā Govinda in the 'Cariya Piṭaka' dwells on a particular aspect of the Suttanta story referring in only

three stanzas to the huge amount of sacrifice the Brahmin made in the cause of the attainment of Bodhi. The relevant gathas are :

"Punāparam yadā homi sattarāja purohito
Pujito naradevehi Mahā Govindo brāhmaṇo
Yadāhaṃ Sattarajjesu yaṃ me āsi upāyanam
Tena demi mahādānaṃ akkhobbhaṃsāgarūpamaṃ
Na me dessaṃ dhanadhaññaṃ pi n'atthi niccayo mayi
Sadbaññutaṃ piyaṃ mayhaṃ tasmā demi varaṃ dhanaṃ."

The Cariya Pitaka thus proves among others, that while the author was depending on the Jātaka for his knowledge of the affluent condition of Mahā Govinda, he was actually looking forward to the Suttanta for his creation of the Bodhisatta ideal. The 'Cariya piṭaka' has more of the Suttanta than of the Jātaka story and is acknowledged to be a post-Nikāya work.

Similarly, it may be shown that other Suttas or Suttantas, such as Maṅgala Sutta, Karanīyametta Sutta, Mulapariyāya Sutta, Mahā-apadāna Suttanta, Mahā Samaya Suttanta, Pāyāsi Suttanta, Aggañña Suttanta, etc., have their counterparts in the Jātakas which preceded them in every case.

It may now be pertinently asked what is then the signification of the 'Suttanta Jātakas'?

According to 'Culla Niddesa' the four Suttantas which were regarded as 'Jātakas' were (1) Mahā Apadāna Sutta, (2) Mahā Sudassana Sutta, (3) Mahā Govinda Sutta, and (4) Makhādeva Sutta or Suttanta. Now, each of these Suttantas has a 'Paccuppanna vatthu,' an Atītavatthu and Gāthās; and except in the first, the Samodhāna occurs in the last three, *i.e.*, the identification of the hero with the Buddha in a previous birth. If, we now accept the legendary portion or the prose narration of the gāthās, as the story of the Jātaka it will be evident that in the case of Mahāpadāna Sutta, the real Jātaka story is that of Buddha Vipassi exclusively dealt with in the Sutta which is in fact, more of the type of an Apadāna than of a Jātaka in

the generally accepted sense of the terms. By calling it first an Apadāna and then a Jātaka having no identification, the author of the Niddesa certainly meant, if anything, that the term Apadāna when applied to Buddhas was originally a more refined equivalent of and preferable to 'Jātaka' which occupied its place later on. We can now logically reduce Mahā-Apadāna-Suttanta into Mahā-Jātaka-Suttanta, meaning thereby the Jātaka transformed into the Suttanta which, if allowed, will clear up all misunderstanding about the origin of Jātakas wrongly believed to have emanated from the Suttantas.

Unfortunately this cannot be said with regard to the 'Mahā Sudassana Jātaka' which is, thanks to the sincerity of the Jātaka compiler, evidently based upon the Mahā Sudassana Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya as it is clearly acknowledged in the Paccuppanna Vatthu :

"Satthā.....atitam āharanto Mahāsudassana Suttam kathesi."
—(M. Sudassana Jātaka No. 95, Vol. I, p. 392.)

But, as it is not done in the other cases, this Jātaka must be an exception which only proves the rule. The relevant Jātaka seems to have been lost under the title of 'Sunetta' indicated by the passage quoted from the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Sunetto Mugapakkho ca, etc.). The Jātakas of the other sages are all traceable in the Jātaka collection as follows :—The Mugapakka Jātaka is No. 538, Vol. V, the ' Araka ' for Aranemi is No. 169, Vol. II, the 'Kuddāla' J. is No. 70, Vol. I, the Hatthipāla J. is No. 509, Vol. IV, and the Jātaka of Govinda as the father of Jotipāla is perhaps incorporated with the Jātaka story of 'Jotipāla himself in Sarabhaṅga Jātaka. The account of all these sages given in their respective 'Jātakas' fully agree on the virtues attributed to them in the Aṅguttara.

So far we have seen that the stories in the Nikāyas when associated with a past life of the Buddha or with the life of any past Buddha underwent tremendous modification from their earlier Jātaka forms. We shall now point out that such was not the

case with regard to the stories which remained as moral stories only, having no identification, in which case the 'Jātakas' are represented more or less in their original forms having in some cases the verses intact and without any modification. A few belonging to this type may be cited below :

(1) Apaṇṇaka Jātaka is Jātaka No. 1, F., Vol. I, pp. 95-106; it also occurs in the Payāsi Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. II, pp. 342-346 P.T.S.

(2) Litta Jātaka is No. 91 in F., Vol. I, pp. 379, and also occurs in the Pāyāsi Suttanta of the Digha Nikāya.

(3) Dighiti Kosala Jātaka is No. 371 in F., Vol. III, pp. 211-213. It also occurs in the Vinaya Mahāvagga, pp. 342-349 (Oldenberg's edition).

(4) Tittira Jātaka is No. 37 in F., Vol. I, pp. 217-220. It also occurs in Vinaya Cullavagga, pp. 161-162 (Oldenberg's edition).

(5) Sakuṇaggi Jātaka is No. 168 in F., Vol. II, pp. 58-60, and occurs in Samyutta Nikāya Vol. V, pp. 146-148, P.T.S.

The verse Jātakas of 'Litta' and 'Tittira' have been found intact in the Dīgha Nikāya and Vinaya Cullavagga respectively.

Other Jātaka tales, some with verses, occur in their original forms in the Vinaya and the Nikāyas (*vide* Buddhist Parables translated from the original Pāli by Mr. Burlingame of Yale University) but the question arises as to what should be the designation of this type of composition having gāthās with stories behind them. The answer is simple for, if we have successfully traced the growth of certain portions of Suttanta literature from these Jātakas it is quite possible that some of them would at least be found in their original forms in the Nikāya or the Vinaya literature and must be regarded as Jātaka proper. This is not all. The other view-point that these stories including the verses found in the Vinaya and in the Nikāyas, became Jātakas in a Buddhist sense later on, must be finally got rid of.

The 'Litta Jātaka'' consisting of the following verse found in the 'Dīgha Nikāya :

Littaṃ paramena tejasā
gilaṃ akkhaṃ puriso no bujjhati
Gila re gila pāpadhuttaka
pacchā te kaṭukaṃ bhavissati ti

is definitely anti-Buddhistic, nay is subversive of all principles of true religion. A gambler to avenge the loss sustained by him through the trick of his rival, secretly smears the latter's dice with a deadly poison and while at play watches him to swallow it in a practice wherein lay the trick. The moment it is swallowed the cheat succumbs and verse is uttered as a warning to others. The act of the poison-giver is also extolled. But, in the name of humanity we ask, who commits a graver crime, the deceitful gambler or his secret assailant ? The hollowness of the Bodhisatta idea in Jātakas nowhere becomes so manifested as in this case when we learn from later Jātakas that the bigger criminal was the Bodhisatta ! However, the Nikāya version having no Bodhisatta, says nothing of the kind. But, what we assert and say most emphatically is this, that the verse with the story was already a Jātaka or it was absolutely impossible for such verses as there are many of this kind, to have been incorporated with the Jātaka-collection, if these Jātakas were ever made with a Buddhistic end after the ideals were preached in the Nikāyas. The Nikāyas can never be the harbinger of the original Jātaka stories.

The difficulty in assigning a proper date to the Jātakas certainly arose out of a general tendency to mix up the prose of the Aṭṭhakathā with the verse; and owing to the prose of the Aṭṭhakathā being found to be much later than the prose of the Vinaya and of the Nikāyas (backed by the supposition that the Bodhisatta idea was responsible for the origin of Jātakas) it was almost universally accepted that the Jātakas were at least a collection of a later date though they might not have come

from the Nikāya stories. This opinion, of course, does no longer hold good.

Accounts of different schools agree on the point that even before the Theravādins divided the Canon into three 'Piṭakas' there existed in the parent school, as early as the time of the First Council, the entire 'Buddhavacana' as one work with nine different types of composition of which 'Jātaka' was one. The following occurs in the account of the First Council given in the Dīpavaṃsa :

"Sattapaṇṇaguhe ramme therā pañcasatā gaṇī
nisinnā pavibhajjiṃsu navaṅgaṃ Satthusāsanaṃ
Suttaṃ geyyam veyyākaraṇaṃ gāthudānātivuttakaṃ
jātakabbhutavedallaṃ navaṅgaṃ Satthusāsanaṃ.

The account of the Mahāyānists contains in addition to these nine types, *viz.*, sutta, geyya, veyyākarṇa, gāthā, udāna, itivuttaka, Jātaka, abbhuta, vedalla, three, more, *viz.*, Avadāna, Nidāna and Upadesa.

These types of composition were the characteristics of the whole work known as the ' Āgamapiṭaka. '

(Āgamapiṭakaṃ nāma akamsu suttasammatam—Dīpavaṃsa, Chapter IV.)

in which instead of being denominated individually according to their classification they were all understood by implication only. Later on, they were bodily taken over and rearranged in the Nikāyas in which it was hardly felt necessary that each type should be separately labelled according to the class it fell under. The reason why the 'veyyākaranaṃ' or the 'geyyaṃ' was not called such in the body of the works, holds equally good in the case of why the Jātakas were not recognised as such in them. Therefore it is no argument to say that because the moral stories with their verses are not called 'Jātaka' in the Nikāyas the word was absolutely unknown to or unrecognised by their authors.

Many 'Jātakas' occur in the Mahāvastu, a major part of which is as old as the Pāli Nikāyas [1] both in prose and in verse in mixed Sanskrit' and while some of them are variants of the Pāli-Jātakas others are not found in the Pāli collection and thus prove without doubt that they existed as early as the original collection out of which both the versions arose.

We also learn from 'Mahāvastu' that even the verse Jātakas were not unchangeable rigid bodies. Both the Çarabhaṅga Jātaka and the Mahā Govinda Suttanta occur in it but, while the Suttanta agrees almost *verbatim* with the Pāli version, the Jātaka with one or two more antique words differs in such a way that at a first glance it appears to be a new story altogether. Whether 'यज्ञदत्त:' for Jotipāla or 'स्वर्गमुपेति स्थानं' for "Brahmam upeti ṭhānaṃ' were substituted in the Mahāvastu for presenting the Jātaka as a birth-story of the Teacher different from that of Mahā Govinda found side by side or whether they were the original statements of non-Buddhistic stories which were modified in the Pāli version, we cannot definitely say. At any rate, the notion of a Jātaka in the 'Mahāvastu' of the Lokottaravādins which paved the way for Mahāyānists was not the same as in the Jātaka-collections of the Theravādins.

It seems very probable, that in Pāli, even as late as the time of Buddhaghosa about the earlier part of the 5th century A.D., the idea of the Bodhisatta's birth-stories was not applied to the Jātaka-collection as a whole, for if so done, it would surely have been referred to by him in his annotation of the term 'Jātaka' in 'Samanta Pāsādikā' a commentary on the Vinaya, in the introduction of which he simply observes :

1 "It (Mahāvastu) is of the greatest importance because it preserves for us many ancient traditions and old versions of texts which also occur in the Pāli canon."—Nariman's 'History of Sanskrit Buddhism'

"The core of the Mahāvastu is old and probably was composed already two centuries before Christ although it has been expanded in the 4th century after Christ and perhaps even at a later period."—Nariman's 'Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism'

"Apaṇṇakajātakādini paṇṇāsādhikāni pañcasatāni Jātakaṃ ti veditabbam."

The Jātaka verses beginning with "Apaṇṇaka," etc., which number five hundred and fifty are to be recognised as Jātakas.

Had the whole Jātaka collection been then regarded as the birth-stories of the Teacher, surely the fact would not have gone by default. Certainly, the Jātakas then existed as a collection of verses grouped according to their number coming under different birth-stories or simply episodes.

The 'Mahāvastu,' on the other hand, seems to interpret the words 'Jātaka' in a light, quite in keeping with the high spiritual ideas generally attributed to a 'Bhagavan' who knows the past, present and the future of all beings. In explanation of the term it has the following :

"धुतधर्मधर जातकानि जिनभाषितानि इमां अष्टमां भूमीं प्रपद्यन्तीति"
etc. (M. V., Vol. I, p. 105, Ed. by Senart).

Oh observer of the Dhutaṅgas, the Jātakas as spoken by the conqueror all relate to the eighth stage of spirituality being that of omniscience to be attained only by the Buddhas.

A knowledge of 'Jātakas' cannot be obtained without this attainment of omniscience which belongs only to the Buddhas or Bodhisattas.

In the Bhāgavatgītā Bhagavān Srikrishna speaks in the same strain to Arjuna :

बहूनि मे व्यतीतानि जन्मानि तव चार्जुन ।
तान्यहं वेद सर्व्वाणि न त्वं वेत्थ परन्तप ॥ (4th Chap. No. 5.)

Oh Parantapa, many have been the lives lived by you and me in the past : I know them all, but you do not."

Therefore, it does not follow that the Jātakas which are evidently taken in the sense of 'जन्म' or birth-stories in the Mahāvastu are necessarily the anterior births of the Buddha, *i.e.*, their narrator. As a matter of fact, Uruvelakāçyapādikāçyapānaṃ

Jātaka, Añākoṇḍiṇṇa Jātaka and Yaçoda Jātaka, as found in the work, have no reference whatsoever to any previous birth of the Teacher, though as stories of the past of his disciples they are all called 'Jātakas being put into his mouth.' (Part III, pp. 434, 394 and 415 respectively.) The other Jātakas of which more than 50 per cent. are variants of Pali, terminate with the note put into the mouth of the Buddha, that in each case the hero was the Buddha in a previous birth and not any other person however different the appellation might be :

"स्यात् खलु पुनः भिक्षवो युष्माकमेवं अन्यो सो तेन कालेन तेन समयेन ... ... नाम अभूषि। न खल्वेवं द्रष्टव्यं। तत्कस्य हेतोः। अहं सो भिक्षवस्तेन कालेन तेन समयेन ... ... नाम अभूषि।"

This note is in agreement with the same observed at the end of the Jātaka Suttantas found in the Pāli Nikāyas having the following :

"Siyā kho pana te Ānanda evaṃ assa "Añño nūna tena samayena rājā * * .* ahosiṭi. Na kho pana Ānanda evaṃ daṭṭhabbam. Ahaṃ tena samayena rājā * * ahosi ti."

The above notes in conjunction with the general observation made in the Nikāyas that in all his previous existences the Blessed One was a sage ("yāva digharattaṃ paññavā so Bhagavā") naturally lead one to believe that, in the absence of the Bodhisatta-Pāramitā theory, the notion of the Jātakas attributed to the Buddha at their earliest stage, arose out of the incarnation theory of Bhagavatism. Even in the Mahāvastu, only such 'Jātakas' as contain very high morals, have been recognised as Jātakas of the Buddha or Bhagavā.[1]

1 "The spirit of the Purāṇas is also breathed by the Jātaka"– Nariman's History of Sanskrit Buddhism, 'Note on Mahāvastu,' p. 16.

"In this section (I. 163 ff.) has been interpolated (?) a Buddhānusmriti that is a hymn to the Buddha who in no way is here different from Vishṇu or Shiva in the 'stotras' of the Purāṇas."—*Ibid*, 'Note on Mahāvastu.'

"Bodhisatta is not generated by father and mother but springs directly from his own properties."—*Ibid*, p. 17, 'Note on Mahāvastu.'

The 'Saddharma-puṇḍarika' a work belonging to the Mahāyāna School though much later, observes as follows :

"The Buddha knowing the differences in faculties and energy of his numerous hearers, preaches in many different ways, tells many tales' amusing, agreeable, both instructive and pleasant, tales by means of which all beings become not only pleased with the law in this present life, but also will reach happy states after death."

It also says,

"The Buddha teaches both sutras and stanzas and by legends and Jātakas."

The labels of Bhārhut Jātakas prove by their titles, as we have already shown, that they were stories or fables under verses with special Buddhistic morals acknowledging the Buddha in a Bhagavatic sense.[1]

The following observation of R. Otto Franke in W.Z.K.M., XX (1006), 318, will further point to the pre-Buddhistic origin of Jātakas : "The bulk of Jātaka-gāthās is the work of many chiefly non-Buddhist authors, though one editor or compiler (not author) may, in recasting the whole, have altered and even added verses here and there."

In fact, whatever might have been their shape afterwards the verse-Jātakas can be traced back to the time of the very Buddha if not earlier still.

With his mighty genius the great Teacher of mankind adopted many current terms of his day, but when using them changed their ordinary mode of application into a special one suiting the new standpoint of his Ārya Sanātana Dharma.[2] The verses of the Jātaka types undoubtedly existed before his time as also the word 'Jātaka' though we cannot definitely say in what sense it

[1] It is on this phase of belief that the Indian doctrine of incarnation seems to have been based, the doctrine which is characteristically Bhagavatic. And it is precisely in this Bhagavatic sense that the expression 'Ukranti' seems to have been used in the Barhut label and the Jātaka texts quoted above from the Buddhist literature."

—Barua and Sinha, "Barhut Inscriptions," p. 53.

[2] *Cf.* 'Uposatha,' 'Pātimokkha,' 'Bhikkhu,' 'Brāhmaṇa,' 'Suttaṃ,' 'Tapa,' etc.

was used; but, there cannot be the slightest hesitation in asserting that, either due to the efforts of the Buddha or to his immediate disciples the term 'Jātaka' came to mean not only moral stories but stories of the past told in illustration of the Doctrine of Karma as applied to its particular recipients. Sooner or later they came to be associated with him first in a Bhagavatic sense with considerable modifications in the Pāli Suttantas and only in selected Jātakas in the Mahāvastu. The representation of the great Teacher in special Jātakas went on being also copied by other schools till after Buddhaghosa, about the end of the 5th century A.D., the whole of the Jātaka collection forming a separate book of the Khuddaka Nikāya and dating sometime after the compilation of the first four Nikāyas, was recognised as a work containting only the birth-stories of the Bodhisatta. Thus, we can say that the prose stories of the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā compiled about the latter part of the 5th century A.D., and looked upon as expansions or 'vitthāras' of Jātaka verses, many of which as old as the time of the Buddha, some even still older, are really a compendium of facts with dates ranging from the time of their origin up to that of their final redaction, *i.e.*, from pre-Buddhistic times down to the 5th century A.D., while we maintain, that except in very rare cases, the claim to pre-Nikāya antiquity of the verses constituting the real Jātakas, must be generally accepted.

Lastly, the scene of 'Tikoṭika Cakama' which occurs among the Jātaka-sculptures of Bhārhut and has been traced by us in Bhāgavata-Purāṇa in a previous article (Calcutta Review, June, 1929) but not in any of the Buddhist-Sanskrit or Pāli works discovered so far, proves almost accurately that the verses called 'Jātakas' must have belonged to a very ancient parent stock of literature called 'Akkhānas,' probably in a kind of Prākrit allied to Pāli from which Purāṇas and Buddhist literature have developed alike.

The growth of Jātaka literature may be shown in a tabular form as follows :—

(Pre-Buddhistic times.)
Akkhānas as popular folklores and ballads in Prākrit.

(Time of the Buddha and the 1st Council.)
Jātakas as popular folklores and ballads illustrating the Doctrine of Karma incorporated with Āgama Piṭaka.

Pāli Buddhism	Sanskrit Buddhism
(Second Council) Suttanta Jātakas and Jātakas as moral stories incorporated with the Dhamma Vinaya.	(Council of Mahāsamghikas.) Special Jātakas as Buddha's birth-stories and ordinary Jātakas as birth-stories of disciples in the 'Mahāvastu.'
3rd century B.C. (Third Council.) Jātaka collection as a separate book of verses included in the Khuddaka Nikāya. Special Jātakas as 'Cariya Piṭaka.'	(1st century B.C. as Council of Kaniska.) Jātakas in Avadāna Çataka and Sūtrālaṅkāra.
(1st century A.D.) Bodhisatta *vs.* Devadatta stories from Jātakas and Jātakas as moral verses found in the Milinda.	(4th century A.D.) Jātakamālā and Avadāna-Kalpalatā.

(5th century A.D.)
Jātaka verses as (1) Bodhisatta birth-stories ; (2) Birth-stories of others ; (3) Moral verses ;
found in the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā.

(End of 5th century A.D.)
Jātakas of the Jātaka Book exclusively as birth-stories of the Bodhisatta in Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā,

DEVELOPMENT OF JĀTAKA-VATTHU OR PROSE STORY

(PROSE FORMED THE COMMENTARY VARYING FOR TIME TO TIME)

The term Jātaka in the sense of a new-born child applies very appropriately to such passages suiting Buddhism as were chosen by its earlier teachers from the floating literature in verse existing as Akkhānas[1] or Akkhāyikā (Akkhānan ti Bhārata Rāmāyanādi—Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Digha-Nikāya). It will be further evident from the several ways in which Jātaka nomenclature was made from time to time and also from the fact that its number has varied with the facts of some overlapping those of others increasingly as time went on,[2] that a bigger Jātaka which itself was a selected piece was reducible to more than one pieces, each of which would yet be a Jātaka and *vice versa*. Thus, the Jātaka piece known under the designation of Vitura Puṇakiya Jātaka in the Stupa of Bhārhut and agreeing with 'Vidhura Puṇṇa Jātaka' in the Milinda Pañha was eventually divided into two Jātakas, *viz.*, 'Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka' in Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā and 'Puṇṇaka Jātaka' in Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya (P.T.S., P. 42, Part II). Conversely, the combination of several Jātakas one of which is definitely the Yavamajhakiya Jātaka of Bhārhut Stupa,[3] is evident in the Mahāummagga Jātaka of Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā (F. VI. P. 365). Our definition of the term Jātaka is further corroborated by the fact, the full signification of which few seem to be cognisant of, that they are found arranged in Nipātas (collections) not according to the nature or size of the stories but according to the size (*i.e.*, number) of the verses each was

[1] The Jātakas belong to the Ākhyāna type of Indian literature out of which the later epic poems evolved.—Pāli literature of Ceylon, p. 117, Malalasekera and Oldenberg. J. P. T. S. 1910, pp. 19.

[2] C. F. Alaṃbhusā Jātaka (No. 523 F. V. P. 152) and Naiini Jātaka (No. 526 F. V. P. 193).

[3] Also Pañcapaṇḍitajātaka of F. IV. N. 508, p. 473.

composed of. It was the verse portion that was uppermost in the minds of old Pāli scholiasts when grouping them in the Jātaka book in which they vary from a single verse up to several hundreds. Herein, is to be found the justification for the repetition of the same stories which having verses of different types are really different Jātakas and as such are not repetitions being the production of unskilful old fools in their attempt to provide examples for a large number of different existences of the Bodhisatta.[1]

Leaving sufficient room for amplification and interpolations the number of Jātakas, each of which could merge into a bigger one or be subdivided into smaller ones, would not be fixed. A Jātaka being 'the chanted summing up of the story or of an episode in it' lost for the most part in oral tradition their collection in the Jātaka book has, as a matter of fact, in the process indicated above, gone on increasing from the earliest time onwards, for example, while it numbered 500 at the time of 'Culla Niddesa' in the second century B.C., at the time of Buddhaghosa in the fifth century A.D. it increased by 50 being 550 (*vide* Samantapāsādika—Introduction).

The Jātakas as a collection of selected verses go back to the very origins of the Sākya doctrine[2] and their antiquity will not preclude the possibility of a prose interpretation in the light of their progenitor following them from the very beginning. Though, there is ample evidence in support of the fact that ancient Indian literature was in verse, more so folk-lores called Akkhānas, the Buddha, who is said to have enjoined his disciples not to use them in practical life (Taṃ akkhānaṃ yasmin ṭhāne kathiyati tattha gantuṃ na vaṭṭati—Commentary on the Digha Nikāya) could not have entirely done away with their application and in the absence of developed Buddhist literature must have

1 "In this book we are given—crudely, childishly though it be—the life history of the individual man;" ... Mrs. Rhys Davids, Birth Story of the Buddha, p. 19.

2 'Manipulation and Antiquity of Jātakas,' (*Vide* previous article)

had recourse to such passages from these Akkhānas as seemed helpful to the propagation of his Doctrine of Ahiṁsā and Karma mixing them with his own interpretations for safeguarding against the influx of vulgar ideas and misconceptions. These interpretations augmented and modified by various other hands supplied the prose of the Jātakas from the time of their orgin onwards.

The Jātakas from full stories which were already known, required little effort on the part of the Buddhist teachers to convey the moral lesson implied by them before their respective hearers, thus affording an explanation as to why these interpretations originally remained for the most part implicit rather than explicit. A little verbal explanation here and there was sufficient to guard against the approach of misconceived vulgarity.

After a close study of its history in different parts of the world it cannot be denied, that Buddhism which primarily grew up as a system of intellectual revolt against blind prejudice and conventionalism in all spheres of life—social, political and religious, is a living organism which assimilating the most rational thoughts of every age and clime, has progressed onwards stoutly refusing to be stereotyped however much the orthodox school might preach to the contrary. The growth of a vast number of commentaries nay, commentaries of commentaries on canonical works, is a sufficient testimony to this fact. (*Vide* Pāli literature in Burma—Mabel Bode.) With the passing of days these interpretations on Jātakas in the shape of stories underwent modification and had to be written down and definitely explained in the light of changing circumstances which to bring to a successful issue the attempt of scholars from time to time provided sufficient clue to the gradual development of the Jātaka-Vatthu or prose.

In discussing the function of Jātakas we have already observed in a previous article (Original Nature of Jātakas)—that they were primarily meant to serve as moral lessons as viewed by the early Sākya teachers. The doctrine of

rebirth in consequence of one's wilful actions found a very strong support from them and in this fertile Sakya mentality the seed of this doctrine found an exuberant growth with the result that to check the growing practice of taking life, be it of an animal or of a human being [1] the antidote in the shape of the doctrine of Karma coupled with that of Ahiṁsa was once more sought on the holy soil of India and preached by the Śakya teachers with a vigour the like of which she perhaps never witnessed before or after. In all walks of life—social, political and religious a new spirit was infused in the bodypolitic, making every soul alive to its pulsation which vibrated in perfect harmony with the note that once rang though the religious sky of ancient India accepting the doctrine of God in everything and feeling oneness in all (स तन्मयो हि अमृतः, etc.).[2]

The menace of life-killing materialism was once more crushed with unceasing vehemence to make room for culture and progress centered in India's civilisation and national degeneration and death were averted in what is known as the renascence of religions that followed in the wake of Buddhism.

Man was made entirely responsible for his action. He was to enjoy or suffer according as he did good or bad deeds in this world. His past determining his present and his present shaping his future he went on aimlessly through an endless round of rebirths until again born as a man he attained 'Nirvāna' by self-sacrifice and knowledge.

'Jātakas' drawn from popular 'Akkhānas' served for the most part as illustration of this renewed phase of Indian doctrine of rebirth. The Buddha, better designated as Bhagavā Sākyamuni was merely the spokesman of the Jātaka characters who were not only examples of their past deeds but were also linked

1 'Mayham piyā puttā attāhi piyo tumhe ca bhariyāyo Saggañ ca patthayāmi tenamahaṁ ghātayissāmi ti' (J. 542, VI, p. 151). Thus expresses a father king when about to sacrifice his son for his own attainment of heaven.

2 Swetasvatara Upanishad, VI, 17. 18.

up with people of his time mostly among the disciples. Bhagavā also had his place in this system that assigned to him a degree of superiority never to be gained by an ordinary mortal. The 'Lakkhaṇa Suttanta' of the Digha Nikāya and the Jataka stories in the Mahavastu are apt illustrations of this fact. Other Bhagavās had preceded him in earlier days and he also came and passed away like them quite unlike an ordinary individual having to undergo the training or mental progress under the law of Karma. In fact, he was kept far above Karma the application of which was not necessary so far as his person was concerned, for it was always devoted to the welfare of all beings. That which regulated his repeated births was his own will or 'abhinihāra.' Even long before his birth as Gotama he could say with authority :

Ahaṃ jāgaratam sutto, aham suttesu jāgaro
ahaṃ etaṃ vijānāmi, ahaṃ patibhanāmi te
—J. 404 III, p. 404.

"Where others are active I am inactive and am active where others do not act (lit, sleep). This do I know myself and shall speak to you in return." Bowing down unto his holy feet led to a state of happiness here and hereafter.[1]

श्रियं परार्थ्यां विदधत् विधाऽजित् तमो निरस्यन्नभिभूत-भानुभृत् ।
नुदन् निदाघं जितचारुचन्द्रमा स वन्दतेऽर्हंदिह यस्य नोपमा ॥
—Asvaghosa.

Literature of every description was exploited to widen the field of Jātaka literature consisting of selections from different types of verses in agreement with the standpoint of the Sakya doctrine.[2] But, though the Jātakas were selections it was not

[1] Vide Gita Ch. 2, St. 69.

[2] H. Oldenburg has used the Jātakas in support of his famous, though now no longer accepted "Akkhana-theory" (Journal of P. T. S. 1910-1912, pp. 19 ff) claiming them as proving the existence from Vedic period onwards of a type of narrative poetry, etc., etc.
—M. Winternitz, Indian Historical Quarterly, March, 1928,

always possible to shape them in every respect conforming to the changed angle of vision taken up by Buddhism. Being mere cuttings they required on this very score an interpretation, as thought advisable by the Buddhist teachers, preserved for the most part by words of mouth and therefore, variable under varying circumstances. The importation of the Bodhisatta-Pāramitā theory into the Jātaka collection as a whole brought about a hopeless, if not complete, distortion of meaning of this verses though helping thereby the development of the prose in the 5th century A.D. in Ceylon.

To come to a concrete case, a comparison between the two versions of the same story based on a Jātaka as found in the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā and Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā will fully illustrate our point in the develoment of Jātaka prose. Take from these two different works the two versions of the 'Kulāvaka Jātaka' so named after the first word of the verse which runs thus :

Kulāvakā Mātali Simbalismiṃ
isāmukhena parivajjayassu
Kāmaṃ cajāma asuresu pānaṃ
mā-y-ime dijā vikulavā ahesun ti

This is the Jātaka proper.

Now, referring as the passage does to a characteristic of Indra, the king of gods, showing great consideration for the sanctity of animal life, a view also accepted in the literature of the pre-Buddhistic India, there can be little doubt as to its being culled out from floating folklore and adapted to illustrate the cult of Ahiṃsa in early Buddhism. A few cognate ideas about Indra from Purāṇas may be cited here. Indra is represented as creating trouble to stop Pṛthu from performing his celebrated horse and other animal sacrifices (Bhāgavata Purāṇa). The city of Indra is accessible only to those whose hearts are not tarnished by the thoughts of malice, hatred, lust, pride, etc. Even for his attitude of 'Ahiṃsa' copied so much by non-Brahmanical schools Indra

could not escape the slur cast on him by later Brahmanical writers who say that the various forms he assumed to create difficulties in the sacrifice of Pṛthu were subsequently adopted by Buddhists, Jains and Kapalic sects (Bhāgavata Parāṇa).

The verse in question is the chanted summing up of the story of Indra or rather of an episode in it which is in the background. The 'Vatthu' as it is called, though it is difficult to divulge its earliest form, is almost the same in both the works Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā and Jataka Aṭṭhakathā so far as the main outlines are concerned, with this difference that while in the former the artistic side has been developed, in the latter the descriptive or the practical side for impressing the average mind has been worked out nicely in conformity with the Bodhisatta ideal. Both are intent upon showing the past merit of Indra by dint of which he attained his position of eminence which according to Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā is the final culmination and in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā is imperfect and defective.

Without much ado the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā (Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 265-80) takes us immediately to the field of action of Magha, then, the Indra to be, in the beginning of the Vatthu in the follwing words :

"Atīte Magadharaṭṭhe Macalagāme Magho nāma mānavo gāmakammakaraṇaṭṭhānaṃ gantvā attano tiṭṭhanaṭṭhānaṃ pādena paṃsuṃ viyuhitvā ramaṇīyaṃ katvā aṭṭhāsi"

But, when according to the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā this young Brahman Magha was no other than the person of the Bodhisatta his early career was not to be touched upon so lightly and therefore in place of this short description it has the following :

"Atīte Magadharaṭṭhe Rājagahe eko Magadharājā rajjaṃ kāresi. Tadā Bodhisatto yathā etarahi Sakko purime attabhāve Magadharaṭṭhe Macalagāmake mahākulassa putto hutvā nibbatti nāmagahaṇa divase c' assa Maghakumāro tv' eva nāmaṃ akaṃsu. So vayappatto Maghamānavo ti paññāyittha' Atha assa mātāpitaro

samānajātiyaṃ kulato dārikam ānayiṃsu. So Puttadhitāhi vaḍḍamāno dānapati ahosi, pañcasilāni rakkhati. Tasmim ca gāme *tiṃsa* eva kulāni honti, te ca *tiṃsa* kulamanussā ekadivasaṃ gāmamajjhe ṭhatvā gāmakammaṃ karonti. Bodhisatto ṭhitaṭṭhāne pādehi paṃsuṃ viyuhitvā taṃ padesaṃ ramaniyaṃ kātvā aṭṭhāsi . . ."

(Jātaka No. 31, F. I., p. 199.)

In the first place it pains one to find how heedlessly in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā the idea of Bodhisatta has been thrust upon the previous existence of Sakka, the permanent (ajarāmara) ruler of gods who did exist in the time of Bhagavā himself and can by no stretch of imagination be identified with his Bodhisatta so wisely shunned in the more scholarly work Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā. In the Jātaka lines,

(1) "Assa Inda-samo rājā accantam ajarāmaro"
—J 433 F. III, p. 515.

(2) "Sahassanetto atulānubhāvo
na miyyati dhammavaro kadāci
—J. 417 III, p. 426.

the idea about a permanent Indra as the ruler of gods is clear and bold.

As to the next discrepancy, we find in the extract from Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā instead of thirty (tiṃsa) there were thirty-three (tettiṃsa akin to tāvatiṃsa) who grew to be his friends one after another when he was actually doing the deeds of piety :

"Tato paṭṭhāya deve janā ahesuṃ, te disvā tath'eva tath 'eva pucchitvā ca sutvā ca aparo ti tesaṃ sahāyo jāto' evam aparo pi te sabbe pi tettiṃsa janājātā".

(Dh. Aṭṭhakathā, Vol. I, P. II, pp. 266-67.)

Thirdly, the grandeur of the city of gods wherein delights Indra is described in detail in the Dh. Aṭṭhakathā which begins thus from "Devāsura saṃgāme pana asuresu parājitesu...to...

evaṁ mahantaṃ yasaṃ anubhavanto Sakko devarājā vicarati''— (Dh. Aṭṭhakathā, V. I, P. II, pp. 272-74). This compares favourably with that given in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Book VIII, Chap. 15th) and bears positive proof of the fact that the idea of Sakka in Buddhism was derived from pre-Buddhistic times. But, as luxury was incompatible with the regulated life of the Bodhisatta this description of the city of Indra has been dismissed in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā in only three or four words :

"(Bodhisatto) evaṃ pasaṃsiya bhāvaṃ āpajjitvā jivitapariyosane Tāvatiṃsabhavane Sakko va devarājā hutvā nibbatti".

It is now clearly found that the omission or commission of facts pertaining to a Jātaka depended largely on how the authors viewed it from non-Bodhisatta or Bodhisatta standpoint.

This is however the smallest part of the change in the character of Indra. A world of difference has been brought about in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā by painting him as flying from Asuras after sustaining defeat in the battle against them,[1] when in his desire to save the lives of young 'garuḷas' threatened with death by his retreat, he utters the 'Jātaka' in question, *viz.*, "Kulāvakā Mātali, etc." But, the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā puts it under very different circumstances. In it the occasion of the Jātaka was when the king of gods was victoriously carrying off his bride, a daughter of the Asura chief, to heaven unaided by his gods and was pursued by demons in their rage to kill him. The verse is omitted from the story but it is found rendered in prose thus :

"Atha assa (Sakkassa) Simbalivanaṃ sampattakāle rathasaddaṃ sutvā Sakko Mātalim pucchi 'ke ete viravanti' ti 'Garuḷā' devâ' ti 'kiṃkāranenâ ti 'Rathasaddaṃ sutvā maranabhayenâ' ti 'Maṃ nissāya ettako jano rathavegavicuṇṇito mā nassi nivattehi rathan' ti". (Dh. Aṭṭha, Vol. I, P. II, p. 279.)

[1] Sakko, asurā kira uṭṭhitā ti sutvā samuddapiṭṭhe yeva abbhugantvā yujjhamāno tehi parājito diyaḍḍhayojanasatikena Vijayantarathena dakkhina samuddassa matthakamatthakena palāyitum araddho—J. F., Vol. I, p. 202.

Evidently, the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā differs considerably from Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā in presenting the king of gods in a light quite in keeping with his dignity and character as recorded in earlier literature. Thus, it was the Bodhisatta ideal which was again responsible for this complete somersault of Indra's character in the latter work. This great change in outlook can only be accounted for by the fact, that while the author of Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā was intent on bringing to light the virtues of the Bodhisatta, that of Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā was busy in pointing out the power and grandeur of the permanent king of gods raised to that eminence by merit alone. The former picture was yet to reach perfection while the latter was a stereotyped fulfilment of what had been accomplished in a past existence.

Now, this is only an instance in point to show how wildly speculation was rife as to the interpretations put on old Jātaka verses. Such instances might be multiplied by legion and need not be cited here.

The question which arises next is, how far these interpretations might be relied upon as belonging to the orginal Jātaka story. And for this we have certainly to go back to pre-Buddhistic conception of Indra and that preserved in the scattered Jātaka verses.

As early as the time of Rigveda, the Aryans of ancient India had conceived a picture of Indra which was indeed of a very lofty nature attributing to him even the power of the Almighty, though at times, it dwindled more towards his human than to his divine nature (*Vedic India* by Ragozin, pp. 199-200). He was the mightiest god whose adoration brought victory to warriors in battles and riches to commonfolk in life But no attempt to paint his previous life preliminary to his rulership in heaven seems to have been made therein though in a particular hymn only a brief hint is given that he was an ordinary man doing good deeds on earth before he became Indra. The hymn

is as follows: "Come O Indra, brother. . . . Here thy friends have lived from oldest time; look now on thy later friends the youngest. . . . For thou wast our fathers' friend of old and willingly didst grant them their wishes. . . . We call on thee who dost not make thy ear deaf to our voice but hearst from afar. . . . For thou, O gracious one, hast always been both father and mother to us. . . . the most fatherly of fathers."

A few quotations from Jātakas will also testify to the fact that reminiscence of the Vedic Indra was still retained to a great extent at the time of their composition from folk-lore literature. The following are among the most notable points mentioned in Indra's character :—

(1) Indra is recognised as the mighty conqueror of the demon Vitra, being the father of all victors and has his seat in the hall of 'Sudhammā' after winning the hands of the heavenly damsel Alaṃbhusā :

"Atha abravi brahā Indo Vatrabhu jayataṃ pitā
devakaññaṃ parābhetvā Sudhammāyaṃ Alaṃbhusaṃ"
—J. 523 V. p. 153.

(2) He is looked upon as Bhutādhipa (the lord of all beings) as known to Nārada :

"Tā (āsā, saddhā, siri, hiri) Nāradena
paramappakopitā
udiritā vaṇṇamadena mattā
sakāse gantvāna Sahassa cakkhuno
pucchiṃsu bhutādhipaṃ
kā mu seyyasi ti"
—J. 535 V. pp. 411-12.

(3) Indra appears as the custodian of virtue (dhamma) :

"Sahassanetto atulānubhāvo.
Na miyyati dhammavaro kadāci
—J. 417 III. p. 426.

(4) Honour to samaṇas and brahmans, liberality, meekness, self-restraint and equality of treatment constituted Indra's doctrine which led to a state of happiness after death :

"Ye kec' ime maccharino kadariyā
paribhāsakā samaṇabrāhmaṇānam
idh' eva nikkhippa sariradehaṃ
kāyassa bhedā nirayam vajanti
Ye kec' tme suggatim āsasāna
Dhamme ṭhitā saṃyaṃe saṃvibhāge
Idha nikkhippa sariradehaṃ
Kāyassa bhedā sugatiṃ vajanti ti"
—J, 535 V, p. 391.

From the above it will be evident that the picture represented in Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā is more akin to the traditional Indra than that represented in Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā though both have considerably deviated from the original.

With the rise of Buddhism assigning him a status no better than that of a virtuous devotee having the Buddha as his refuge, the high regard paid to Indra became considerably poor as will be evident from the post-Jātaka Suttanta literature wherein he is depicted in the following manner :

However great or powerful he might be in the eyes of mortals of the earth, he was never tired of seeking for truth and religion which could give him the mental peace he required most and of meeting for that purpose various 'Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas' living in forests (āraññakā pantasenāsanā) who to his disappointment, became, after a conversation with him, his disciples instead of teachers. Finally, in extreme veneration he approached the Master with caution (lest he be displeased) and saluting him with bended head asked him questions regarding 'Dhamma.' On hearing the Doctrine he became fearless and as a devout disciple taking refuge with the Master he expressed himself thus :

"Apariyositasaṃkappo vicikicchi kathaṃ kathi
Vicari dighaṃ addhānaṁ anvesanto Tathāgataṃ

Yāsu maññāmi samaṇe pavivitta-vihārino
Sambuddho iti maññāno gacchāmi te upāsituṃ
Katham ārādhanā hoti kathaṃ hoti virādhanā
Iti puṭṭhā na sambhonti magge paṭipadāsu ca
Tyassu yadā maṃ jānanti Sakko devānam āgato
Tyassu maṃ eva pucchanti Kiṃ katvā pāpuni idaṃ
Tesam yathā sutaṃ dhammaṃ desayāmi jane sutaṃ
Ten' ass' attamanā honti diṭṭho no Vāsavo ti ca
Yadā ca Buddhaṃ addakkhiṃ vicikicchā vitāraṇaṃ
So' mhi vitabhayo ajja Sambuddhaṃ payirupāsiyuṃ
Taṇhā sallassa hantāraṃ Buddham apaṭipuggalaṃ
Ahaṃ vande mahāviram vandām' ādicca bandhunam"

—Sakka-pañha Suttanta of Digha Nikāya.

It is however admitted in the extract above that though sceptical and inquisitive Indra did possess some doctrine which pleased 'Samaṇas' and 'Brāhmaṇas' before meeting Buddha notwithstanding the passage maintaining an air of Buddhistic arrogance that runs throughout its length. The prose portion of this Suttanta admittedly later than the verse, stresses moreover the fact that the arising of the Buddha in the world was responsible for increase in the number of gods in Indra's heaven as the disciples were mostly reborn therein after death. But it cannot be denied that although bringing in Indra to the field the author of the Suttanta literature was not actuated by a pious desire to laud him up in the same scale as ancient folk-lore and only used his name with a view to popularising the special aspects of the doctrine of the Master. Therefore, it would not be a matter for surprise if turning on to the Jātaka-Vatthu or prose of a still later time in both Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā and Jataka Aṭṭhakathā, we find that the story of Indra is only a peg on which rests the moral of observing the five precepts which come so much to the fore-front that the main story fades into nothing. Thus, the original Jātaka-story of which the verse was the 'chanted summing up' illustrating Indra's greatness and regard for animal life dwindled in the fourth or fifth century A.D. into

that of his humiliation while advocating the practice of what are technically known as 'Pañca Silas' in Buddhism.[1]

Almost every Jātaka story has suffered more or less by the introduction of the Bodhisatta into it. We shall cite one more example. In the Kāka Jātaka (J. 146, Vol. I, pp. 497-98) we are told that a certain female crow perished in the waves of a sea; the male crows collected on the beach and out of revenge began to throw beakfuls of sea-water on the land above in their effort to empty the sea of all water. But the water thus thrown out trickled down to the sea again. After a time, when their jaws began to ache they spoke the Jātaka :

Api nu hanukā santā, mukhan ca parisussati
Oramāma na pārema, purat' eva mahodadhî ti

"Our jaws are aching and mouths are becoming dry. We are exactly where we were before; while the sea is being filled with the water (we are drawing)."

Evidently they were about to retire at this stage when the Bodhisatta who was the sea-god at that time assumed a fearful form and dispersed them. Now, the part played by the Bodhisatta here is extremely ludicrous not to speak of his marring the simplicity and the effect of the whole story as if but for his intervention the poor sea would have been dried up by the mighty crows! In all deference to those who advocate Bodhisattaism in Jātakas may we ask: 'Did Bodhisatta in this existence perform a work of piety by saving the sea from the onslaught of crows?'

The intrinsic worth of many a Jātaka has been irretrievably lost in this way by the introduction of an unwanted Bodhisatta but for whom the main outlines of the 'Vatthu' would be original and trustworthy.

1 For the story please turn to pp. 198-208 in Fausböll's edition of Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā, Vol. I, and in P. T. S. Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā, Vol. I, P. II, pp. 265-80.

Generally speaking the growth of Jātaka prose, *i.e.*, the story proper depended largely on two main factors being (1) the nature or the type of the Jātaka itself and (2) its capacity for developing the Sākya religion in its diverse aspects. Hence Jātakas varied in size according as they bore on society, politics or religion. Topics referring to social matters or royal functions were generally cut short in as small compass as possible but those that seemed to help the establishment or propagation of the Doctrine either by way of criticism or support were unduly lengthened often to the point of exhaustion.

Examples of the first type are Jātakas like Gijjha Jātaka No. 164; Nakula Jātaka No. 165; Sakunagghi Jātaka No. 168; Rohini Jātaka No. 45, etc., which are contained in the greater part of the first, second and third volumes of Fausböll's edition while those of the second type being Jātakas like Citta-Sambhutta Jātaka No. 498, Sivi Jātaka No. 499, Campeyya Jātaka No. 506, Hatthipāla Jātaka No. 509, Sarabhaṅga Jātaka No. 522, etc., etc., comprise bulk of the fourth, fifth and sixth volumes.

The development of a Jātaka into a story replete with Paccuppannavatthu, Atitavatthu, Gāthā incorporating the Jātaka itself, Veyyākaraṇam and Samodhāna as a rule does not seem to have taken place even as late as the time of Buddhaghosa in the earlier part of the 5th century A.D. It appears from his commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya that the verse portion is reproduced when any reference is made to a Jātaka. The following are the examples :—

(1) Titthiyānam pana Bāveru-jātake kākassa viya lābhasakkāro parihāyittha. Yath' āha:

Adassanena morassa sikhino mañjubhāṇino

* * *

* * *

Atha labho ca sakkāro titthiyānaṃ ahāyathâ ti

(Majjhima N. Aṭṭhakathā, P.T.S., Part II, p. 3).

(2) Kin te vataṃ kiṃ pana brahmacariyam
kissa sucinnassa ayaṃ vipāko

* * *

idañca nu dhira mahā vimānan ti
imasmiṃ hi Puṇṇaka Jātake dānaṃ brahmacariyan ti vuttaṃ

(3) Mayañ ca bhariyā nātikkamāma
amhe ca bhariyā nātikkamanti
aññatra tāhi brahmacariyaṃ carāma
tasmā ti amhaṃ daharā na miyare ti
Mahā-Dhammapāla Jātake sadārasantoso brahmacariyanti vutto
(M.N.A., Part II, pp. 42).

(4) Hīnena brahmacariyena khattiye upapajjati
majjhimena ca devattam uttamena visujjhati vutto
evaṃ Nimi Jātake attadamanavasena kato aṭṭhaṅgiko upasatho
brahmacariyan ti vutto. (Do., p. 42).

The portions from Jātakas thus quoted by Buddhaghosa not only testify to their forms being in verse but definitely prove that their avowed purpose was primarily the setting up of morals for mankind. One noticeable feature in this connection is that whenever Buddhaghosa mentions any act of the Bodhisatta as narrated in a Jātaka story he does it by saying that such a thing happened in the time of the Bodhisatta born as so and so omitting the word Jātaka from his statement. Thus, referring to the story of 'Gandhāra Jātaka' he says 'Tathāgatassa Bodhisatta kāle pí evam ahosi (M. N. A., Part II, pp. 382-84). Similarly with reference to the story of Sarabhaṅga Jātaka he observes 'Evaṃ Sarabhaṅgakale, etc.' There are also many other examples besides these two. Certainly, if the word 'Jātaka' had any significance of a birth story it would have been found attached to 'Bodhisatta' or his name instead of 'kāle.' That is, it would have been 'Bodhisatta Jātake' instead of 'Bodhisatta kāle.' Evidently a wide distinction was maintained between the life story of the Bodhisatta and a 'Jātaka.'[1]

1 This also agrees with our observation on the Jātakas of Milinda Panha (Bhārhu-Jātakas in a new light).

Hence the study of how a 'Jātaka' came to be considered as a story of the Bodhisatta with the agglomeration of Paccuppanna Vatthu, Atīta Vatthu Veyyākaraṇa and Samodhāna becomes all the more interesting.

It is natural that any aspect of the Doctrine contained either in gāṭhā or a Jātaka or a Udāna to have an importance of its own must have some context as regards its author, recipient and purpose. In fact, every Suttanta developed on these principles making the exposition of some cardinal point or points of the Doctrine as the basis. The author of the discourse no other than the Teacher himself makes clear some points of the Doctrine with an elaborate exposition in certain circumstances that culminate in the conversion of the recipient taking refuge with the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The desire to preface a doctrine with a statement of circumstances leading to its pronouncement and for concluding it by recording the effect it produced on its hearers was predominant from the very beginning.

In literature the development of Jātakas into stories becomes evident for the first time in the especial Suttantas known as Mahā Apadāna, Mahā Govinda and Mahā Sudassana in the Digha Nikāya and Makhādeva in the Majjhima Nikāya. Though the real Jātaka and the story in each are greatly modified or lost they are clearly traceable all the same. The avowed object of these Suttantas is to belittle the previous existences of the Teacher however glorious they might have been in the past in order to show that his final existence as Gotama Buddha was the greatest of them all. This is not uncommon in India and cannot be said to have been inspired by the Bodhisatta ideal in the least.

Ever since the beginning of her history India has particularly stuck to one common religious belief that in every age a teacher of religion is not only accepted by his disciples as God incarnate but as the greatest of all those who lived similar lives before him and the early Sākya disciples were in no

respect much behindhand to this time-honoured custom. Believers in impersonal and omnipresent God explained it through the doctrine of incarnation but those who could offer nothing, in common much less believe in such an idea, had but one theory to advance their claim. This theory was that which later on developed as the 'Bodhisatta-Pāramitā-Cariya.' Deeply engulfed in the lofty personality and spiritual teachings of their master, the early Buddhists in the time of Suttantas while adhering to the belief that he was the best and the greatest of all previous manifestations had not as yet propounded the philosophy of his arising in the world or his disappearance.

The taking of infinite pains and sacrificing oneself for the good of all beings soon after fhe rise of Mahāyāna stood out to be the most prepondering ideal of Theravāda Buddhism in which the hitherto cherished divine origin[1] of Sākyamuni was almost forgotten and there emerged out of it the belief in the long long period of toilsome rebirths through which he had been making sacrifices in the cause of others and himself fit for attaining Supreme Wisdom.

"Kappe ca satasahasse caturo ca asaṅkheyye
ettha antare yaṃ caritaṃ sabbaṃ taṃ Bodhipācanaṃ"
—Cariyapiṭaka.

also

"Jātikoṭisahassehi pamānarahitaṃ hitaṃ
lokassa lokanāthena kataṃ yena mahesinā"
—Introduction to Jātakas.

[1] Ten' ahu Porānā :—
'Muhuttajāto va gavampati yathā
samehi pādehi phusi vasundharam
so vikkami satta padāni Gotamo
setan ca chattam anudhārayum maru
Gantāvana so satta padāni Gotamo
disvā vilokesi sama samantato
aṭṭhangupetam giram abbhudirayī
siho yathā pabbatamuddhani ṭhito' ti
Evam tathā gato ti Tathāgato"
(M. N. Atthakatha, P. T. S., pp. 47-49).

Stories from Jātakas illustrating this part of his character were then selected and needless to say that the most enlightened ones were utilised for the purpose. They constituted the works known as the Cariya Piṭaka and Buddhavaṃsa and underwent during the process a thorough overhauling. In the next stage, the Jātakas of an extraordinary type were accepted as the 'cariya' stories of the Teacher without their undergoing any modification as will be evident from Dhammapāla's commentary on the Cariya Piṭaka (Nidāna-Kathā).[1] Once admitted to the Jātakas, the Bodhisatta became the hero, not only of selected stories but also under circumstances narrated in the introductory verses of the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā given below, came to be recognised in the years which followed soon after as the stereotyped hero of them all.

"Buddhavaṃsassa etassa icchantena ciraṭṭhitiṃ
yācito abhigantvāna therena Atthadassinā
Asaṃsaṭṭhavihārena sadā saddhivihārinā
tath' eva Buddhamittena santacittena viññunā

Mahimsāsakavaṃsaṃhi sambhutena nayaññūnā
Buddhadevena ca tathā bhikkhunā suddhabuddhinā
Mahāpurisacariyānam ānubhāvam acintiyaṃ
tassa vijjotayantassa 'Jātakas' Atthavaṇṇanam
Mahāvihāravāsinaṃ vacanamagganissitaṃ
bhāsissam, bhāsato taṃ me sādhu gaṇhantu sādhavo"

The author who chooses to remain anonymous says "Desiring the permanency of this history of Buddha's births I approached the 'thera' Atthadassi, also the calm and wise Buddhamitta leading a secluded life with pupils apart from the society of men; in like manner, the 'bhikkhu' Buddhadeva, clever in logic and experienced belonging to the Mahimsasaka school and being asked by them I am now going to write as directed by

1 F. Vol. I, pp. 45, 46, 47. Also vide 'Dhammapāla's Commentary Cariyapiṭaka' edited by Mr. D. L. Barua, M. A. (P. T. S.)

the residents of the Mahāvihāra, a commentary after meditating on the Jātakas in illustration of the 'cariyas' and the greatness of the Great Being. Let the virtuous accept my words in good faith. He also admits that Jātakas were already rehearsed and put into a collection before him by the 'Dhamma Saṅgāhaka theras' in their desire to illustrate the 'cariyas' of the Great Sage.

'Jātakaṃ nāma saṅgitaṃ *dhammasamgāhakehi* yaṃ'
(Introductory verses.—Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā more correctly Atthavaṇṇanā).

Now as to the identity of these 'Dhammasaṅgāhakas' it may be almost definitely said that they did not belong to either of the first, second or third Councils which are invariably referred to by ancient Pāli scholiasts as 'paṭhama,' 'dutiya' and 'tatiya' saṁgiti respectively and their authors as Sangītikārakas.[1]

'Sāsana Vaṁsa' informs us that in the reign of king Vaṭṭagāmini in the last century B. C. (Kern's Manual of Buddhism, p. 120) the whole of the 'Tripiṭaka' with 'aṭṭhakathās' was reduced to writing by the great *theras* numbering 500 in the cave of Āloka at Malaya janapada[2] in Ceylon and that the council so formed was looked upon as the fourth council :

"pañca-matta mahātherasatā Vaṭṭagāmanirājānaṃ nissāya
Tambapaṇṇidipe padese Malaya janapade Ālokalene aṭṭhakathāya
saha pitakattayam potthake āropesum. Tam ca yathā vutta-
saṃgitiyo upanidhāya catuttha saṃgiti yeva nāma ti veditabbo"[3]
(Sāsana Vaṁsa, P.T.S., p. 23).

Certainly it was this council that our anonymous author of the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā was referring to. We further learn from the post-script to the 'Chaddanta Jātaka' (No. 514 V, pp. 55-56) that

1 Mahāvamsa—Conclusion of Chapts. 3rd, 4th and 5th on pp. 20, 27 and 55 of Geiger's edition. Sāsanavaṁsa—Ed. by Mabel Bode, pps. 5, 6 and 10; also *cf.* 'Sangitikáraká' on p. 345. F. Vol. I.

The central mountain region.

C. F. Mahavamsa, Ch. 33, Gattha Nos. 100 and 101.

the addition of 'Samodhāna' was made by the Dhamma Saṅgāyika *theras* in verse only thus bringing it into line with the Jātaka proper.

* * *

"Ahaṃ vo tena kālena ahosiṃ tattha bhikkhavo
nāgarājā tadāhosim evaṃ dhāretha jātakaṃ"

imā gāthā Dasabalassa guṇe vaṇṇentehi dhammasamgāyikattherehi ṭhapitā" (*cf*, Kurudhamma Jātaka, II, p. 381 and Mahāpaduma Jātaka No. 472, p. 169 IV).

It is beyond all pale of doubt that every Jātaka of the collection was not indiscriminately looked upon as a birth story of the Buddha[1] in this council following which and after consultation with some of the leading *theras* of his time our author sets himself to the task of preparing a commentary which at the very outset enunciates the principle that a Jātaka is necessarily a birth story of the Bodhisatta. This then affords us the history of the agglomeration of Paccuppanna Vatthu, Atitavatthu, Veyyākaraṇa and Samodhāna with real Jātaka in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā, edited by Fousböll in six volumes.

We have already commented on the gradual development of the Atīta Vatthu or the Jātaka story and will now make a few observations regarding the importance and authenticity of the Paccuppana Vatthu, Samodhāna and Veyyākaraṇa

It may be stated without fear of contradiction that in imitation of the Suttanta literature, Paccupanna Vatthu and Samodhāna were added to the Jātaka story not much later than when the Boddhisatta-Pāramita theory was read into the Jātakas themselves synchronising with Pali literature being first reduced to writing. That the 'Paccuppanna Vatthu' was not added earlier is evident from the very first Jātaka containing in its Paccuppanna Vatthu the following :

1 This is proved by the evidence of Dham.—Atthakathā.

"Atha Bhagavā māyā kho gahapati aparimitakālam dasa pāramiyo puretvā lokassa kaṁkhācchedanatthaṃ eva sabbaññutaññānam paṭividdhaṃ"

The date of its composition as indicated by the passage is certainly in the post-Pāramita period. It would therefore, be idle to expect in it that much love for old facts which it was our misfortune not to have come across in the Atīta-Vatthu itself. Moreover, on a comparison with that given in a different work the Paccuppanna Vatthu of Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā smacks of inconsistency and fiction. Take for example the 'Kulāvaka Jātaka' the story of which we have dealt with already. In the 'Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā the occasion for its moralisation is said to have been caused by the act of a 'bhikkhu' compelled to drink water without using a strainer whereby destroying though against his will, insects living therein.[1] In the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā on the other hand, the story of the Jātaka was told by the Teacher at the desire of his disciple Mahāli enquiring as to whether the glorification of Indra in the Sākyapañha Suttanta was made by Bhagavā with full knowledge or not.[2] Whatever reliance may be placed on the latter, the former for taking very seriously what once constituted a minor offence[3] not quite applicable in this case, cannot but be looked upon as untrustworthy concoction. But, dwelling exclusively on the facts of the time of Buddha derived for the most part from the Suttantas, the Paccuppanna Vatthu of Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā may be relied upon as noteworthy for general purposes, though it would be sheer unwisdom to stress the veracity of the relation in which it stands to the corresponding Jātaka story in the work.

The inconsistency of statements found in the Paccuppanna Vatthu and Samodhana deserves especial notice in this connec-

1 Faus, Vol. I, 198.

2 Dh. Atthapatha, Vol. I, P. II, pp. 263-65

3 Whatsoever monk uses water knowing that it contains living things in it, commits a sin which requires expiation—Rules on Pācittiya Dhamma.

tion. Passages in the Paccuppanna Vatthu which introduces a Jātaka indicate its purpose to have been general moralisation in view of some past happening, while the Samodhāna belonging to it brings in, in a formal way, the Bodhisatta quite uncalled for, to the field as the master of the situation. For example in the same 'Kulāvaka Jātaka' the Teacher says in its Paccupanna Vatthu 'Bhikkhu pubbe paṇḍitā devanagare rajjam kārentā, etc., etc.' without referring to himself in the least, but, in the 'Samodhāna' he merges the Pandits of old in the person of the Bodhisatta :

"Tada Mātali samgāhako Ānando ahosi, Sakko pana aham evâ ti"—(J., 31, Vol. I, p. 206).

The number of such Jātakas containing inconsistencies in statements in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā itself is quite large and would by no means come below 25 per cent. of the whole. Hence, apart from their proving that most of the Jātakas remained as moral stories even after the rehearsal of the 'Dhamma saṁgāyika' *theras* in the first century B. C. in Ceylon, they show how conventional the 'Samodhāna' in the sense of the identification of the hero with the Bodhisatta was with respect to a Jātaka in the 5th century A.D., when the 'Aṭṭhakathā' or Atthavaṇṇanā was compiled. But however unwise the addition of 'Samodhāna' to most of the Jātakas might have been, there can be no two opinions about the fact that in the beginning it was formulated to be added on to Jātakas of exceptional merit with a view to inspiring adoration and love for the Teacher (Dasabalassa guṇe vaṇṇentehi) and was composed in verse by the 'Dhamma saṁgāyikas' as already referred to.

Automatically after 'Samodhāna' Veyyākaraṇa came next, for the latter has been greatly influenced by the former. The Veyyākaraṇa being as it is, a literal explanation of the Jātaka Gāthās in bringing out the sense of the archaic words contained in them, is really an adjustment of their old meaning to the new one in consonance with the Bodhisatta ideal. And though

there may be left out of it much that is desirable, in our opinion, it seems to be one of the utmost importance inasmuch as but for it much of the meaning of Jātakas themselves would have been shrouded in mystery for ever. We will substantiate this view by citing a few cases below :

'*Potthakaṃ*' is used in a Jātaka (Vol. IV, p. 251) in the sense of 'ghana sākaṭaṃ' whereas in ordinary prose the word signifies a book. The word '*Satthā*' is found in ordinary prose literature as always meaning the person of the Master but in Jātakas its application is met with frequently in the sense of an ordinary teacher who can show the way to heaven (Sagga maggasa desitattā Satthā—J. 537, Vol. V, p. 503). '*Thupa*' ordinarily denotes a burial mound or a tomb but in a Jātaka (No. 541, Vol. VI, p. 117) the word is used meaning a house with a dome (kuṭāgāra). The word 'Bhagavā' which in prose literature stands for the person of the Blessed One, in the Jātaka signifies any teacher worthy of respect and love (Ko nu te Bhagavā Satthā, kass' etaṃ vacanaṁ sucim, J. 539, Vol. VI, p. 60).[1] '*Paṭimokkha*,' a word seldom found in the prose literature, means that which is opposed to 'mokkha' or release (tam saṁgaraṃ paṭimokkhaṃ na muttaṃ, J 513, Vol. V, p. 25). Herein is to be found the derivation of the term Pātimokkha from Paṭimokkha meaning that (code) which is binding on every one concerned. *Bahutamajjā* is a word used in the sense of 'matakabhattam' (J. 417, III, p. 426) in a Jātaka but rarely found in prose. The word *Dhamma* though used in the Jātaka (No. 414, III, p. 404) in its general sense, is explained in the Veyyākaraṇa as being equivalent to nine kinds of transcendental conditions 'navavidhalokuttaradhamma,' a technical term in Buddhist philosophy which developed long afterwards.

In fact, a vocabulary of these terms with original and especial meanings in Jātakas does by itself form the subject of a

1 Also 'Bhagava bhumipālo' in the sense of a respectful or kind-hearted landlord, J. 537, V, p.460.

separate thesis; a few of them however will suffice to maintain in our case that 'Veyyākaraṇaṃ' was essential to the understanding of the text.

Thus towards the end of the 5th century A.D. a Jātaka comprising only the verses of old fledged into a full story in combination with the Paccuppanna Vatthu, Atita Vatthu, Veyyākaraṇa and Samodhāna as its inseparable parts giving an account of the author, the recipients and the avowed purpose, with an importance of its own; in fact, forming a miniature Suttanta with this difference that while in the Suttanta the Jātaka form was quite lost or modified, in the new full-fledged story it was retained intact.

We shall now briefly note in conclusion the employment of Jātakas in ancient Indian sculpture. That Jātakas were an essential feature of the life-history and doctrine of the Teacher is clearly evident in the sculptures of Bhārhut and Sāñchi. Having at our disposal only fragmentary materials not exceeding two-fifths of the whole it is not possible to reconstruct the complete story once revealed in the entire railing of the Stupa of Bhārhut. But, an honest attempt in this direction with what is left has every chance of arriving at what might be looked upon as satisfactory.[1] A close examination of the labels of the four quadrants as discovered and recorded in order by General Cunningham in his monumental work, 'The Stupa of Bhārhut,' reveals one important fact that each quadrant consisting of twenty pillars including the coping and the return railing was really the exponent of an independent story having in the forefront like the 'Paccuppanna Vatthu' incidents from the life-history of the Master followed by the figure of a past Buddha and Jātaka scenes in the shape of the Atita Vatthu and terminating in representations of inhuman beings standing in reverential postures unmistakably bearing the stamp of the overpowering

[1] Our thanks go to Dr. B. M. Barua, D. Lit. (Lond.) for accomplishing this task in the work entitled "Bharhut Stupa in three volumes."

nature of the Master and his Jātaka doctrine as Samodhāna. Thus on the first and foremost pillar in the S. W. Quadrant we have on its three sides representations of 'Thupa pujā,' 'Kadariki (?) narā', 'Vijapi Vijadharo,' 'Sakamunio Bodho,' 'Sudhavāsa devatā,' 'turaṃ devānaṃ' also 'Dhama cakamo,' 'Pasenadi Vandate' and 'Bahu hathiko' all being scenes from the life-history of the Master and subsequent events; on the sixth pillar 'Bhagavato Kassapassa Bodhi', on the twelfth 'Tikotika Cakama', on the seventeenth 'Yavamajhakiya Jātaka' and on the eighteenth being the last among those discovered 'Suciloma Yakkha' and 'Sirimādevatā' standing in an attitude of prayer.[1] These may be explained as representing the component parts of a Suttanta or more correctly a Sutta containing the exposition of some cardinal points in the Doctrine with an account of its author, recipients and the purpose involved therein. Thus the Jātaka forming an integral part of early Buddhism had some kind of Paccuppanna Vatthu, Atīta Vatthu and Samodhāna attached to it though not as component parts from the very beginning so vividly described in figures on the monuments of ancient India.

To sum up there were at least five stages in the development of the Jātaka Vatthu and they may be stated thus :

(1) Encased between the Paccuppanna Vatthu and the Samodhāna Jātakas represented the Doctrine as found in the Stupa of Bhārhut.

(2) Jātakas developing into Suttantas wherein the real Jātaka form when applied to Buddha was lost or modified as will be evident from the Suttanta literature.

(3) Jātakas improved and represented as *cariya* stories and those of ghosts and angels in poetical forms found in the Cariya Piṭaka, Peta Vatthu and Vimāna Vatthu.

[1] The sculpture of 'Latuva Jātaka' is also found in a rail bar in this quadrant. *Vide* Cunningham's 'Stupa of Bharhut,' pp. 134, 135, 136; also p. 139. Plates : XIII, XIV, XV, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVIII, XXX and LIV.

(4) Jātakas found as *cariya* stories contained in the Cariya Piṭaka of later writers. (*Vide* Nidāna-Kathā in Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā, Vol. I and also the commentary on the Cariya Piṭaka by Dhammapala).

(5) Jātakas in their final garb formed by the Paccupanna Vatthu, Atīta Vatthu, Gāthā, Veyyākarana and Samodhāna as in Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā of the 5th century A.D.

Thus, as a record of the different stages of its progress to the student of Buddhism the value of the Jātaka prose in its final stage can hardly be overestimated while it is impossible to appraise too highly the importance of Jātakas themselves as a faithful document on ancient Indian history and culture so piously preserved in the lands of Buddhism.

We have dealt so far with the significance of Jātakas and now we shall proceed on to the discussion of their importance and for this purpose the verse Jātakas shall form the chief centre of our interest.

IMPORTANCE OF JĀTAKAS

Introduction

Jātaka-verses to form the basis

It has long been admitted ever since their publication that 'Jātakas' which exclusively belong to the Buddhists contribute a great deal to the reconstruction of India's past civilisation and being limited by no means to the Buddhist period alone they cover a much earlier time penetrating even into the Vedic. But, recognised as they were so long as exponents of Bodhisattaism, a phase of later Buddhism which arose even long after the composition of Pāli Nikāyas, their importance in the reconstruction of India's past was generally considered to be of secondary character for which they were relegated to the background of canonical studies. With the acknowledgment, however, that orginally 'Jātakas' were nothing but select verses bearing upon some past episodes adopted from ancient 'Akkhānas'[1] their study ushers in a degree of importance which is definitely its own. As a matter of fact, Jātakas now meaning Buddhist selections from versified Akkhānas, the state of affairs outlined in them is no longer to be treated as a matter of secondary concern to their author but of primary importance to them who purposely culled them out from ancient ballads in their primitive simplicity with a view to illustrating and strengthening the doctrine of Karma in early Buddhism.

It has also to be borne in mind that the prose version of the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā is not the version of the old textual stories but marks a considerable divergence from them in most cases as a criticism does from its subject-matter, owing to exigencies of circumstances occasioned especially by the creation of a new phase of the religion itself known as Bodhisattaism or Buddhalogy. Now, while attempting to reconstruct the past history of India's

1 "Development of Jātaka Vatthu," by the author (Calcutta Review, Feb, 1931).

civilisation scholars have hitherto not been able to steer clear of the later prose by the adoption of which in conjunction with the verse they could not render their efforts in this direction as satisfactory as could be desired, an assertion which undoubtedly gives rise to the very delicate question as to whether or not the entire verse portion of Jātakas of all descriptions belongs to the same period or to periods ranging from the earliest time of their composition till the redaction of the prose in the Aṭṭhakathā.

Although we are not going to enter into the discussion on their respective dates of composition at present, we may rest assured, that for all general purposes allowing only notable exceptions, the verses exhibit throughout a trend of thought which is remarkably consistent and pre-Buddhistic. Even the Jātakas of longer verses supposed to be later betray features of a very remote period and prove without doubt that, as a whole, they can be considered very ancient, serving as the basis of later works such as Suttantas, Petavatthu, Vimāna Vatthu, Cariya Piṭāka and others. The prose of the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā contains, on the other hand, much that is still later, proving thereby that an attempt was made by the Aṭṭhakathā writers to put new wine in old bottles in their desire to read into Jātaka verses an expression of thoughts and beliefs which were current only in their own times.

The following pages do not contemplate giving an account of ancient Indian civilisation on a wider or a more comprehensive scale than that on which it has already been dealt with by scholars[1] in more ways than one from the stories of Jātakas alone. After having observed in previous articles the real nature of Jātakas with regard to their date of origin, form and purpose in contradistinction to opinions commonly held, it becomes naturally interesting to learn what new light they throw on conditions of ancient Indian society in general

1 A very exhaustive treatment of the subject has come out from the pen of Mr. Ratilal Mehta in his 'Pre-Buddhistic India' after the publication of these articles.

under this changed angle of vision.[1] Our present attempt will, therefore, be directed more towards the fulfilment of what still remains a desideratum than towards enumerating as many aspects of society as can possibly be gathered from them. In our attempt to supply this want while we confine our remarks to the verses only, the scope of our activities is likely to be still more circumscribed but not, we trust, without an interest and originality of its own. Copious quotations in original will be another new feature of this work.

Religious background.

From whatever standpoint we may like to look at it there can be no escape from the fact that in India it was religion which shaped society and politics. Every line of Jātakas bears testimony to this great truth.

Dhammo have pātur ahosi pubbe
pacchā adhammo udapādi loke (p. 101, IV).

The caste system which was the backbone of society of the Aryans of ancient India, was attributed to Brahmā and the ideas of power and pomp for which kings vied with one another were inspired by the example of Indra. Hence these conceptions must have preceded and caused the formulation of a large number of social rules and royal functions of the land at the time under consideration. With regard to the origin of the caste system it is stated thus :

Ajjheṇam ariyā paṭhaviṃ janindā
vessā kasiṃ pāricariyañ ca suddā
Upāgu paccekaṃ yathā padesaṃ
Katāhu ete Vasinā ti āhu ti (p. 207, VI).

"The great Brahmā created the castes so that the Brahmins (Ariyā) took to studies, the Khattriyas became rulers of the land, the Vaisyas settled as cultivators and service was the occupation of the Sudras."

It becomes apparent then that, without this support from religion in which Brahmā (Vasī) was accepted as the creator, the

[1] It has been fully dealt with in the 1st part 'Significance of Jātakas'.

system of caste in ancient India could not be enforced on the people. In like manner duties and functions of a king had their origin in the lofty example of Indra constantly at war with the Asuras for supremacy and power.

Dhammaṃ care janapade negamesu balesu ca
isayo ca na hiṃseyya puttadāre samañ care
Sa tādiso bhumipati raṭṭhapālo akodhano
Sāmante sampakampeti Indo va asurādhipo'ti (p. 243, V).

"That king who rules over country-people, towns-folk and his forces according to religion, who does not injure the sages and being free from anger behaves towards sons and wives with equanimity, will be a source of perpetual terror to his enemies living at the border even like the Indra, the conqueror of Asuras."

Thus, the laws of society and the state evolved for the most part out of the main conception of religion long before the advent of Buddha and hence it would not be out of place here to have a brief reference to the pre-Buddhistic conception of religion in so far as it is helpful to our understanding at the outset of our entering upon a discussion of the then state of society and politics in the Jātaka gleanings.

Ideal religion of the land was then 'isihood' for which every one had great respect and made penance if it was possible of attainment at the close of life.

Bhāsaye jotaye dhammam, paggaṇhe isīnam dhajaṃ
Subhāsitadhajā isayo dhammo hi isīnam dhajo
(p. 509, V).

To iniure the 'isis' in any way was a great sin :

Isinaṃ antaraṃ katvā Bharurājā ti me sutaṃ
Uchinno saha raṭṭhena sa rājā vibhavaṃ gato
(p. 172, II).

Giriṃ nakhena khanasi ayo dantena khāda
Jātavedaṃ padahesi yo isim paribhāsati
(p. 383,

Isis, the progenitors of social rules.

Of these 'isis' the foremost were the groups of seven and four[1] who as belonging to the first were Yamahanu, Somayāga Manojava, Samudda, Magha, Bharata and Kālikarakkhiya and as belonging to the second were, Angirasa, Kassapa, Kisavaccha and Akitti. These eleven sages of old practised 'tapa' and attained Brahmaloka in the end.

Addhā ime avattimsu anāgārā tapassino
Satt'isayo Yamahanu Somayago Manojavo
Samuddo Magho Bharato ca isi Kālikarakkhiyo
Angiraso Kassapo ca Kisavaccho Akitti ca ti
(p. 99, VI).

By dint of their 'tapassā' these sages of old had transgressed the sphere of sensual universe and had far outstripped those who delighted in liberality even. (Nimi Jātaka No. 541.)

Now, as to the mode of their 'tapassā' we may next observe that it mainly consisted in the rearing of a sacrificial fire in a forest, though, Pali commentators have invariably taken the term in a Buddhistic light meaning self-control. That this 'tapassā' was definitely the worship of fire which not only conferred on its devotee a state of bliss in the next world but also strength, wealth and spiritual calm in the present one, will be evident from the following :

Dhātā Vidhātā Varuṇo Kuvero
Somo Yamo Candimā y'api Suriyo
Ete pi yaññaṃ puthuso yajitvā
Ajjhāyakānam atha sabbakāme
Vikāsitā cāpasatāni pañca
Yo Ajjuno balavā bhimaseno
Sahassabāhu asamo pathavyā
So pi tadā ādahi jātavedan ti (p. 201, VI).

[1] *Cf.* Gītā, Ch. X, Stanza 6.

"Dhātā, Vidhātā, Varuno, Kubero and the rest had to perform sacrifices before fire to enable themselves to fulfil all the desires of their Brahmin supplicants. Even the very Arjuna with his mighty army and wonderful capacity for shooting arrows in the art of which he had no rival in the world, had to perform oblations before fire."

The appellations of an 'Isi' as 'Āraññako,' 'Cirarattaṃ tapassi,' 'Vaddho,' 'Bhābitatto,' 'Kiso,' 'Dhamanisanthato gatto,' etc., which occur in Jātakas are positive evidence of the fact that he was a recluse who had no place in common society. These 'isis' formed 'assamas' or hermitages in forests probably as a protection from wild beasts and thought out deep problems of life for humanity at large.

The ancient Aryans while trying to settle in the open land besought them and as directed by them framed the rules of the state and society.

Men belonging to these societies who assumed more power and bodily virtues posed as kings and resorted to such 'assamas' whenever they found themselves beset with troubles to obtain satisfactory solutions of the intricate problems of their administration.

Sighāni yānāni ca yojayantu
Ajj' eva ahaṃ assamaṃ taṃ gamissaṃ
Yatth' eva dakkhissam isim nisinnan ti
(p. 395, IV).

It has been plainly acknowledged in Jātaka No. 462 that these calm sages were the real instructors even of kings, much more of laymen.

Samanā anusāsanti isi dhammaguṇe ratā
(p. 134, IV).

With their backbone in religion the rules of ancient Indian society and polity evolved in this way out of the thoughts of 'isis' who being indirectly their progenitors, these 'assamas' verily became the cradle of Indo-Aryan civilisation and culture.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

Beginning of Caste-system.

This religious background of the ancient Indian institutions of which the caste-system was the most important perhaps accounts for the fact as to why the thoughtful section of the community was assigned the first rank as Brahmins, the second rank was given to the ruling section, the Khattriyas, the cultivators or the Vaisyas were given the third and the remainder of the people who were fond of service and averse to study were classified as Sudras. (Aggañña Suttanta Digha Nikāya).[1]

Ajjhāyakaṃ mantaguṇupapannam
tapassinaṃ yācayogo ti câha (p. 204, VI).

However well imposed through religion the caste-system might have been on society, for practical purposes it was mostly inoperative though it was so old as to become hereditary by the time under consideration. As a matter of fact, the castes were far from regularly doing their respective duties said to have been allotted to them by their progenitor Brahmā. It was found everywhere that all Brahmins were not given to the study of 'mantras,' neither were the Khattriyas as a class the rulers of land, nor did the Vessas alone cultivate the soil, nor did the Sudras live only by service.

Ādāya satthāni caranti brāhmanā
* * *
na khattiyā jātu labhetha rajjaṃ. etc. (p. 208, VI).

Theoretically, a Brahmin was said to be firmly established in religion when he was devoted to studies and to the cult of

1 In this Suttanta which is a later development of Akkhānas, the Khattriyas are ranked first.

'mantra' and 'tapassā.' He had regularly to rear up a sacrificial fire, sprinkle water and worship at altars.

Niraṃkatvā aggim ādāya brāhmaṇo
Āpo sijam yajam usseti yupam
evaṃkaro hoti brāhmaṇo khemi
dhamme ṭhitaṃ tena amāpayiṃsû ti (p. 302, IV).

But the assertion made by the Brahmins that only the Brahmins should study 'mantras,' no one except the Vessas should till the ground and the Sudras must never be absolved from servitude, was utterly false.

Na' brāhmaṇo mantapadāni sikkhe
Nāññatra vessehi kasiṃ kareyya
Suddo na muñce parapessitāya
Yasmā ca etaṃ vacanaṃ abhūtaṃ
Musā ca ime odariyā bhaṇanti (p. 208, III).

The castes as originally intended being thus found unworkable the faith in their creator thereby was challenged and hotly contested.

taṃ tādisam samkhubhitaṃ vibhinnaṃ
kasmā Brahmā n' ujjukaroti lokaṃ (p. 228, VI).

The Brahmins sarcastically called 'odariyas' (lit. fond of eating) were therefore wrong in their assertion that they were descendants of the great Brahmā.

Position of Brahmins

However ill-received their theories might have been by the general people, still undoubtedly proud of their caste and creed which had then become their birth-rights, the Brahmins formed the 'ācariya' or the Guru class to which no other caste seems to have made the least claim.

Ācariyo brāhmaṇo mayhaṃ kiccākiccesu vyāvaṭo
garu ca āmantaṇiyo ca dātuṃ arahāmi bhojanaṃ.
(p. 371, IV).

Evidently, the Brahmins were the repositories not only of learning in general but of knowledge of everything that was useful (kiccākiccesu vyāvaṭo) for the acquirement of which people thronged to them with offerings of food. The teaching of boys remained for the most part in the hands of these Brahmin 'ācariyas.'

Thus repents in his later days a man not having learnt his lessons before such an 'ācariya'

> ācariyam anusatthāraṃ sabbakāmarasāharaṃ
> pitaram accamaññissaṃ iti pacchānutappati (p. 178, IV).

Though it is referred to more than one hundred times as a full-fledged university in the Jātaka prose, Takkasilā as a seat of learning was yet to be. In the Jātaka proper, *i.e.*, in the verse the name of Takkasilā occurs only twice, not as a seat of learning but as the capital of the kingdom of Gandhāra. In the Palāyi Jātaka No. 229 F., Vol. II, p. 217, we are told that Takkasilā itself constituted a kingdom the king of which having fortified himself within its boundaries successfully repulsed an attack of the king of Benares who had besieged it. Secondly, in the Juṇha Jātaka No. 456 F., Vol. IV, p. 98, the mention of Takkasilā occurs definitely in connection with the capital of the king of Gandhāra having nothing to do with educational activities.

> Gandhārarājassa puramhi ramme
> avasiṃhase Takkasilāya deva.

The very silence of the Jātaka compilers regarding Takkasilā as a university town is strongly indicative of the fact that its importance as a seat of learning was then unknown and the work of diffusion of knowlege was entirely in the hands of local Brahmins who posed as ācariyas.

The Brahmins however by no means excluded themselves when necessary from enjoying more lucrative occupations such as ministership or any other royal service, even they took to

such work as money-lending, etc. It may be noted here that 'Iṇadāna' or the lending of money was then a very flourishing business which even the minister Vidhura, himself a Brahmin (p. 401, Vol. III), carried on with no loss of prestige. The Dasa Brāhmaṇa Jātaka, No. 495 IV, pp. 361-65, enumerates some of the works taken up by the Brahmins other then teaching. These were :—'Tikicchā'—medicine ; 'Paricariyā'—serving ; 'Niggāhakaṃ'—oppressing people (tax-collecting?); 'Vanijjaṃ'—trade ; 'Kasiṃ'—cultivation ; 'Ajelakānaṃ posanaṃ'—cattle-breeding ; 'Goghātakaṃ'—the slaughtering of cows; 'Luddakakamma'—hunting, etc. In fact, every kind of occupation which the Brahmin could conveniently lay his hand on was accepted by him. As an instance of 'Iṇadāna' being profitably adopted by a Brahmin we may cite here the fact, that before his eventful journey to Nāgaloka with the Yakkha Puṇṇaka, the Brāhmiṇ Vidhura made over to his relations among others the office of lending money.

Kammantaṃ samvidhetvāna ācikkhitvā ghare dhanaṃ
nidhiñ ca iṇadānañ ca Puṇṇakaṃ etad avravi ti.
(p. 301, VI).

The storehouse of a Brahmin's knowledge was the Vedas, the study of which was never barren but produced fame and culture giving peace of mind to its votary.

na h' eva vedā aphalā bhavanti
Sasamasyaṃ caranaṃ yeva saccaṃ
kittim hi pappoti adhicca vede
santiṃ pun'eti caranena danto
(Setaketu Jātaka, Vol. III, p. 237).

Such knowers of the Vedas were silently invoked by devotees for protection in times of danger.

Ye brahmaṇā vedagu sabba dhamme
te me namo te ca mam pālayantu (p. 34, Vol. II).

Although the Brahmanical element was unquestionably considered superior to others in society, the Brahmins as a class

were not so influential because of the arrogance displayed by some of them causing the non-Brahmanical section of the community to question their claim to superiority on account of mere accident of birth which bereft of self-control and education was equally dominated by greed, hatred and delusion.

Jātimado ca atimānitá ca
lobho ca doso ca mado ca moho
ete agunā yesu va santi sabbe
te nidha khettāni apesalāni (p. 381, IV).

For entertaining too much pride in themselves in respect of their caste the Brahmins not seldom were put to great hardship by inhuman beings such as 'Yakshas,' 'Nagas' (J. No. 497, IV, and J. 543, VI). The ideal life was indeed the life of a saint free from lust, hatred and delusion.

Yesaṃ rāgo ca doso ca avijjā ca virājitā
khināsavā arahanto tesu dinnam mahapphalaṃ (p. 387, IV).

The highest profession undoubtedly being that of 'ācariyas' or spiritual teachers, the lowest wās that of slaves or 'dāsas' who had lost their independence. Now, as to the significance of the term 'dāsa' it must be noted that it was quite capable of being applied to castes other than the Sudras so long as the members of any were found engaged in the service even of a king in any capacity.

Slaves not forming any caste.

In his statement to Puṇṇaka the Yakkha with reference to his own status as the minister of king Dhananjaya, the Pandit Vidhura explained the meaning of the term 'dāsa' as follows:

Āmāyadāsāpi bhavant ih' eke
Dhanakitā pi bhavanti dāsā
Sayam pih' eke upayanti dāsā
Bhayāpanuṇṇā pi bhavanti dāsā (p. 285, VI).

Some people became slaves by virtue of being born of slaves, some became slaves being sold as such, some undertook

to become slaves of their own accord and some through fear, while the Pandit having inherited his post from his father considered himself a slave by birth :

Ete narānam caturo ca dāsā
Addhā hi yonito āham pi jato. (p. 285, VI).

No matter in whatever way they were obtained, the 'dāsas' were never subjected to impolite or harsh treatment and most of them even enjoyed equal privileges with the members of the family they lived in. They were afforded sufficient facilities to practise piety for the attainment of heaven in a family that had any desire to live righteously. Thus replied Mahā Dhammapāla to a query as to why there was no case of premature death in his family :

Dāsā ca dasso anujivino ca
paricārikā kammakarā ca sabbe
dhammam caranti paraloka hetu
tasmā ti amham daharā na miyare ti (p. 53-54, IV),

"None of our family die early as all of us including our slaves, dependants, servants and other workers, both male and female, practise piety for the next world."

Place of Chaṇḍālas—the lowest caste.

In fact, the idea of oneness is found running through people of all castes even through that which was considered to be the lowest, *viz.*, the Chaṇḍālas or Pakkusas who lived outside the village and disposed of the dead. They were never despised for their occupation however low it might be as wrongly stated to have been the case by Dr. Rhys Davids on page 55 in his 'Buddhist India.' Were the fact so the following lines[1] would never have occurred in the Jātakas :

Khattiyā brahmaṇā vessā suddā caṇḍāla pakkusā
idha dhammam caritvāna bhavanti tidive samā
(p. 194, III).[1]

[1] Note also:—p. 205 and p. 303 in Vol. IV, and *Cf.* gāthā No. 137, p. 429, IV.

"The Khattriyas, Brahmins, Vessas, Sudras and Chandālas or Pakkusas all by practising Dharma in this world become equal in heaven."

Apart from the guilds such as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, cerpanters, potters, architects, sculptors, painters, shoemakers (rathakāra), etc., the principal occupation appears to have been trade and cultivation. Inland trade was carried on from kingdom to kingdom by caravans moving along well-known routes lying across hills and deserts (Apaṇṇaka Jātaka No. 1) and the sea-borne by merchant-men visiting the sea-coasts of India and adjacent countries such as Burma, Ceylon, Arabia, Persia as far westwards as Syria and Babylon. We are also told of an adventure though it proved disastrous through a very big ocean probably the Pacific,[1] undertaken by the sailors of Bharukaccha (Baroach):

Mahābhayo bhiṃsanako samuddo suyyat' amānuso
Yathā sobho papāto ca samuddo paṭidissati (p. 141, IV).

The cult of medicine to which Brahmins not infrequently devoted themselves with credit was also a very important profession (p. 361, IV, J. 495). It consisted not only in the knowledge of various drugs but also in the utterance of 'mantras' the efficacy of which in curing diseases was widely acknowledged and tried with success.

Na mantā mulā bhesajjā osadhepi dhanena va
Sakkā ānayitum kaṇha yam petam anusocasî ti (p. 86, IV).

The experiment was only unsuccessful in the case of the diseased having already expired.

Caste, not an index of avocation

Thus in ancient India when Jātakas were composed caste was seldom an index of avocotion. Brahmins lived by whatsoever profession they could secure without difficulty, the Khattriyas not being as a rule the ruling chiefs of the land undoubtedly followed in the footsteps of

[1] Vide Illiot's—Hinduism and Buddhism outside India, vol III

the Brahmins. The Vessas lived by occupations meant for other castes and the Sudras were all not necessarily servants. A Rishi of great power and reputation was found among the Chandalas and the most redoubtable Brahmin did not hesitate to honour him and partake of the leavings of food he had eaten. (Jātaka No. 497.) The several avocations of life such as trade, cultivation, money-lending, asceticism and hunting, were practically interchangeable as will appear from the following :—

> Kasi vanijjā iṇadānam uñchacariyāya luddaka
> etehi dāraṃ posehi mā pāpaṃ akarā punan' ti (p. 422, IV).

A king who was naturally the head of society while requesting a fowler to change his mode of living openly said, "O fowler, support your family by either cultivation or trade or money-lending or by living the life of an ascetic and not by hunting."

The criterion by which people, high and low, were judged was merit. Treatment must be given to a person according to his desert and if no such discriminating test was maintained in society the wise must quit the place immediately.

> Nāyam Neru vibhajati hīnamukkaṭṭhamajjhime
> avisesa karo Neru, handa Neruṁ jahāmase (p. 248, III).

"This mount Neru does not distinguish between the high, the middle and the low in merit. As it behaves equally towards all we must leave it directly."

Society formed by ñātis.

Love of society and fellow-feeling in which consideration of caste was completely sunk, were the most predominant characteristics of this ancient civilisation as is evident from the solicitude of the people for the welfare of their 'ñātis,' a term used not so much in the sense of relations (salohita) as in the much wider sense of an acquaintance in whom a relation was undoubtedly merged. The people were actively guided

in their daily habits by the love of those whom they knew well and called 'ñātis' in Jātakas. Nothing of importance could be done without taking one's ñātis into confidence. The king carried on his administration in consultation with his ñātis who were all his officers and subjects including both towns-folk and country-folk. ('Saddhim rājakārakehi negamajānapadehi ñātayo,' p. 134, IV, J. 462); also ('ñāti-saṃghenâ ti amaccā pi idha ñātayo eva,' p. 190, V, J. 525). In the sentence 'sabbehi kira ñātihi kosiyo issaro kato' in the Uluka Jātaka (No. 270, II, p. 353) meaning 'the owl was made king by his 'ñatis,' the term is to be taken in the sense of an acquaintance and not a kindred one. The wise having come to wealth will have to share it along with their ñātis in order that their reputation in this world may be maintained and entrance to heaven ensured.

Dhiro bhoge adhigamma saṃgaṇhāti ca ñātake
tena so kittim pappoti pecca sagge ca modati
(p. 302, III).

A captive bird was let loose in order that his 'ñātis' would rejoice over his liberation.

"Mayā tvam samanuññāto sotthim passāhi ñātake," said a fowler while setting free a bird he had caught. The bird too while being liberated expressed the desire that his captor also would find his 'ñātis' rejoicing with him.

Evam luddaka nandassu saha sabbehi ñātibhi.

In the Dasaratha Jātaka (No. 461, IV, p. 127) Rāma exhorts Bharata who is naturally unwilling to accept kingship, being overwhelmed with grief and anger, in the following words :

So' ham dassañ ca bhokkhañ ca bharissāmi ca ñātake
sesaṃ sampālayissāmi kiccam evaṃ vijānato.

"I should rather like to give alms, enjoy the kingdom, look after the 'ñātis' and see to the needs of the rest like one aware of his duties than behave otherwise.

A king was asked to rule righteously over his 'ñātis' who constituted all his subjects :

Dhammena kira ñātīnam rajjaṃ kārehi Samvara
Medhāvi paṇḍito cāpi atho pi ñātinaṃ hito
Taṃ taṃ ñāti paribbuḷhaṃ nānāratana mocitaṃ
amittā nappasahanti Indaṃ va asurādhipo
(p. 135, IV).

"O Samvara, rule over your ñātis righteously and bring welfare unto them being wise and resourceful; for, one decked with jewels and surrounded by his ñātis cannot be overcome by his enemies even like the Indra undaunted by the Asura chief." (*Cf.*, Tam rūhati ñāti majjhe, etc., p. 360, VI, J. 546.)

Marriage confined to ñātis

As a god was to a god, a demon to a demon or a bird to a bird, so a man was to his fellowman a 'ñāti' irrespective of caste or creed or species and it was from the house of such a ñāti that a wife was selected by the bridegroom and brought to his residence. In the matter of the selection of a wife, her virtues appeared to be of lesser importance than her pedigree which must be known well beforehand.

Daharim kumārim asamatthapaññaṃ
Yan tu' ānayiṃ ñātikulā sugatte
(p. 35, IV, J. 444).

A wife was for the most part obtained for money paid to her father's family by the husband in whose house, however, she exercised full control over internal management. A monkey just let loose by its owner, a rich gahapati (a banker *i. e.*, a seṭṭhi) informs its tribe in the forest that human society was vastly different from theirs in view of the following :

Dve dve gahapatayo gehe: eko tattha amassuko
lambatthano veṇikato atho aṃkitakaṇṇako
kīto dhanena bahunā so tam vitudate janan'ti
(p. 185, II, J. 219).

"While there were two masters in the same house, one (taking the wife for the second master) was devoid of beards, had elongated breasts, ornamented ears and long hairs tied into a knot. Bought at a great price he (she) remonstrated with every one in the house." Also, passages like "Bhariyā yāpi dhanena hoti kītā" (p. 112, IV J. 458) or "Yā ca bhariyā dhanakkītā sāmikam atimaññati" (p. 269, V, J. 530) sufficiently testify to the existence of the practice of giving daughters in marriage in exchange for money.

But, the character and virtues of the bridegroom were of great consideration to the bride's father before he gave her away in marriage and it was rather considered preferable in the case of a father having more than one daughter, to have them all placed in the hands of one groom of known good character than giving them away to different grooms of varying characters and manners. Thus the ācariya of a family advises the girl's father as to the kind of the groom he should select for her :

Attho atthi sarīrasmiṃ vaddhavyassa namo kare
attho atthi sujātasmim silaṃ asmāka ruccati
(p. 138, II, J. 200).

"A bridegroom must be of noble birth and character, he must also have good health and reverence for elders." The father having four daughters gave them successively away in marriage to the same groom who fulfilled all these conditions. No instance of polyandry adopted by a woman is recorded.

We are not told whether the 'purohita' or the priest had anything to do with marriage celebrations, the presumption being that he did nothing in this connection as marriage was not yet included in religion or considered a sacred function among the masses.

Want of husbands on the part of girls was however looked upon as a curse and the king in whose kingdom suitable husbands could not be found was cursed by all.

Kadāssu nām' ayaṃ rājā Brahmadatto marissati
Yassa raṭṭhasmiṃ jivanti appatitā Kumārikā ti
(p. 103, V. J. 520).

Sayaṁvara marriage.

Instances are many when girls on attaining proper age which generally ranged from twenty to thirty went of their own accord in search of husbands. Some young maidens of high parentage when falsely charged with stealing mangoes in a garden, denied the charge on oath as follows :

Visam va pannavisam va unatimsam va jātiyā
tādisā patim mā laddha yā te ambe avahari ti
Digham gacchantu addhānam ekikā abhisāriyā
Saṃkete patim mā addasa yā te ambe avahari ti
(pp. 138-39, III, J. 344).

"Let her who has stolen your mangoes not find a husband when she attains the age of 20 or 25 or 29."

"Let her who has stolen your mangoes walk alone a long distance and not find her husband at the appointed place."

This kind of marriage by the girl approaching direct to select her husband was not without being attended with danger to avert which good care had to be taken to ascertain that she was not a stranger or a member of an enemy party. The Biḍala Kukkuṭa Jātaka (No. 383, Vol. III, p. 266) sounds a note of warning to would-be husbands in the matter of acceptance of wives. The story, besides deprecating marriage between parties of different tribes (races), lays special stress on an observation requiring the girls' declaration of chastity by beat of drums which must have been one of the important features of this kind of 'sayaṃvara' marriage.

komārikā te hessāmi mañjukā piyabhānini
vinda mam ariyena vedena sāvaya maṃ yad icchasi ti
(p. 266, II).

"A perfect maiden as I am I shall be your lovely and chaste wife. Acknowledge me therefore by means of the noble proclamation or in any way that pleases you."

No mention is found of 'samajāti bhariyā' or a wife of the same caste in the Jātakas though the term is found several times in the prose, betraying a characteristic of later times (jāti-gotta-kula-padesehi samānā, p. 428, IV). The word invariably found attached to 'bhariyā' is 'sādisī' or 'of the same type' in which type denoted age (tulyavayā, etc., p. 76, IV).

Bhariyā ca te sādisī dve dadāmi
(p. 99, IV, J. 456).

'Gottas' of parties should be different.

Generally the law for regulating marriage was that the parties should be of different agnates (gotta) as stressed in the Kacchapa Jātaka (No. 273, Vol. II, p. 360):

Kacchapā kassapā honti koṇḍaṇṇā honti makkaṭā
muñca kassapa koṇḍaṇṇam kataṃ methunakaṃ tayā.

In elucidation of the above the commentary has "Kassapa-koṇḍannānaṃ ca aññamaññam āvāhavivāha-sambandho atthi."

From the above passage it is clear that marriage between parties of different agnates was only possible and that between parties of the same agnate was not customary, and it gives the lie direct to the statement found in prose that Rama and Sita were brother and sister before their marriage which received the sanction of some ancient Indian custom (p. 130, IV, 1.5). Moreover, it was admitted that even when the parties belonged to different 'gottas' they must not be united in matrimony if they bore very close relationship to each other. The marriage of a king's daughter with his sister's son could not be publicly celebrated

though it was found desirable and necessary in view of the parties' being deeply involved in a love-affair. It was the 'susāna' or crematory whereto the couple had to resort to get themselves wedded. On this fact of the case the Jātaka (No. 126, Vol. I, p. 458) rightly observes as follows :

"Tath' eva kassa kalyānam tath' eva kassa pāpakam
Tasmā sabbaṃ na kalyānaṃ sabbam vā pi na pāpakam."

"The same form while proving disastrous to some might be beneficial to others. Therefore no particular form is entirely beneficial or entirely harmful."

Thus in general, rules regarding ancient marriage reduce to this that, at the desire of the bridegroom satisfying certain conditions the bride was given in marriage by her father not at an early age, but, when the parties attained somewhere between the ages of twenty and thirty and it being restricted to known families the selection of a wife largely depended on the amount of money which could be paid in her exchange. In most cases, unmarried girls chose their own husbands, as such an act was not considered improper or derogatory. The parties also must not be of the same 'gotta' as far as practicable.

Position of wives.

The husband was fortunate and happy if the wife was an equal (sādisī) in respect of age, temperament and virtue; if she fulfilled maternity, was of noble parentage and dutiful to her husband.

"Yassa bhariyā tulyavayā samaggā
Anubbatā dhammakāmā pajātā
Koliniyā sīlavati paṭibbatā
Dāresu ve sotthānam tad āhu"
(p. 76, IV).

It was seldom expected that she should be educated; on the contrary lack of education was perhaps a condition for the girl precedent to her marriage as the following will show :

"Daharim kumārim *asamatthapaññam*
Yan tu ānayim ñāti kulā sugatte."

Women became virtually mere objects of play with the rich and to the average householder an instrument for procuring children for his family.

"Hatthi gavassa maṇikuṇḍalā ca
Nāriyo ca iddhesu kulesu jātā
Sabbā va tā upabhoggā bhavanti
Iddhassa posassa aniddhimanto"
(p. 361, IV).

and secondly,

"Kacci te sādisi bhariyā assavā piyabhānini
Putta-rupa-yasupetā tava chandavasānugā"
(p. 422, IV, and p. 348, V).

Subservient to the will of the male sex in every respect the position of women in society is very vividly described in the gāthās quoted above and need not be commented upon.

Meant for the enjoyment of the rich and as instruments for bearing sons to the ordinary householder it was no wonder, therefore, that women without an opportunity for practising self culture and cultivating higher thoughts (N'eva itthīsu sāmaññam, p. 151, III), turned into a class of beings whose main work was to enchant and mislead men.

"Itthiyo tāta lokasmin pamattam pamathenti tā
Haranti yuvino cittaṃ tulaṃ bhaṭṭam va māluto"
(p. 222, IV).

Again,

"Yaṃ brāhmaṇo avādesi vinaṃ sammukhaveṭhito
Aṇḍabhutā bhatā bhariyā tāsu ko jātu vissase ti"
(p. 293, I).

Wives reared even from their very infancy would become, when grown up, faithless to their husbands and therefore none

should believe them. The very birth of a female child was the sign of ill luck :

"Thiyo tassa pajāyanti na pumā jāyare kule
Yo jānam pucchito pañhaṃ aññathā naṃ viyākare"
(p. 459, III).

But, like the silver lining in a dark cloud this gloomy state of affairs regarding women was not without its bright side. Breaking this dismal darkness of women's wretched lot, arose from time to time illuminating illustrations of Sambhulā (J. 519, Vol. V), Amarādevi (pp. 366-371, VI), Udayabhaddā (J. 548, Vol. IV, pp. 104-113), Rujā (J. 544, VI, pp. 230-242), and others who will ever remain enshrined as object-lessons to women-folk of all ages of the world for exemplification of chastity, wisdom and resourcefulness in the highest degree.

We propose to present here a touching scene from the life-history of queen Sambhulā. Her utterances when after following her husband suffering from leprosy to a forest for nursing him she fell into the hands of 'dānava,' an ogre, who being enamoured of her tried to win her favour in every possible way, recall the memorable cries of Sitā when she was being forcibly taken away by Rāvana. At Sambhulā's refusal to become his wife the ogre caught her by the hand and threatened to make a meal of her there on which she bitterly lamented thus :

"Na me idaṃ tathā dukkhaṃ yaṃ maṃ khādeyya rakkhaso
Yañ ce me ayya puttassa mano hessati aññathā"
(p. 91, V).

"I shall not be sorry at all if the demon eats me up but, since the mind of my lord will be disturbed on the question of fidelity in my absence I am extremely grieved."

Not finding her way to her husband when set at liberty by Indra, the custodian of Dharma, she next prayed to all the divinities, one of which was Bhāgirathi Gaṅgā. [1]

1 The Jātaka thus testifies to the early existence of the Hindu pantheon in which Gaṅgā pujā was included.

"Vaṇde Bhāgirathiṃ Gaṅgaṃ savantīnam paṭigahaṃ
Rāja-puttaṃ apassanti tumham hi saranaṃ gatā."

Upon meeting him she made a solemn declaration as to her purity, even like the virtuous Sitā when entering the pile of fire to prove her fidelity to Rāma, and restored him to health

"Tathā mam saccaṃ pāletu pālayissati ce mamaṃ
Yathāham nābhijānāmi aññam piyataraṃ tayā
Etena saccavajjena vyādhi te vupasammatu ti"
(p. 95, V).

"Let Truth protect me now if it will protect me ever. If I have not thought of any one besides my husband as dearer to me then, by the virtue of this solemn declaration let his disease subside."

Forthwith the leprosy vanished and he became hale and hearty.

Fear of forced widowhood after the death of their husbands was again no factor in causing this display of chastity by wives. The idea of continuity of the sacred relation between husband and wife throughout their past, present and future being absent, women were perfectly free to remarry at the death of their husbands (J. 411, IV, p. 394) or on being deserted by them. In trying to solve the origin of creation these ancient people advanced the theory that originally there were no wives and that the creation of mankind was the outcome of the mind.

"Pure purattha kā kassa bhariyā
Mano manussam ajanesi pubbe"
(p. 213, VI).

"For their weakness women themselves are to blame" perhaps was the argument of the male sex in perpetuating their misery. A king when questioned what would his seven hundred wives do in case he left them behind to become himself a recluse of the forest, replied :

"Paññāyihinti etā
Daharā, aññaṃ pi tā gamissanti
Saggaṃ ca patthayāno
Tena-m-aham pabbajissāmīti"
(p. 178, V).

"Their fates will be decided by their karma and being young they will go to some other king, but desiring to go to heaven I must renounce them."

For obvious reasons women had to live under seclusion and protection and were on this account looked upon as 'Orodhā' (*lit.* those living in guarded houses). But when required they were perfectly free to move about like men.

At a public ceremony or feast women mustered strong in the same way as men :

"Orodhā ca kumārā ca vesiyānā ca brāhmaṇā
Bahum aṇṇañ ca pānañ paṇḍitassābhihārayum"
(p. 328, VI).

Excursions to places of public interest were also not forbidden.

Therefore, judging from all points of view it would not be a mistake to suppose that in ancient India a wife whose personal freedom was seldom interfered with, was accepted more for meeting the demands of the male-sex than for having any desire of her own fulfilled.

Security from danger obtained by friendship.

And now, more sacred than marriage and stronger than union between husband and wife was the tie of friendship that bound the ancient Indian with his neighbour, be it an index of affection or of duty. Unrestricted to any caste, and unlimited in its scope and soaring beyond even human limitations was friendship which once contracted between the parties was to be maintained up to the last moment of their lives. To a friend a friend was nearer and dearer than his 'jñāti' or his wife because he

entertained the highest love for him and was prepared to sacrifice his all in his cause. The royal road to friendship as understood in the 'Jātakas' lay through equality (sādisi) not of status, brith or wealth but of education and virtue only.

"Yam tv'eva jaññā sadiso maman ti
Sīlena paññāya sutena cā pi
Ten'eva mettin kayirāth saddhim
Sukhāvaho sappurisena saṅgamo"

(p. 42, II). (*Cf.* p. 14, VI).

"Whomsoever one finds to be an equal in respect of virtue, wisdom and learning, with him should he make friendship for companionship with the good is blissful."

Apparently, irrespective of his caste or creed an equal (sādisī) was one who possessed the same degree of virtue (sīla) wisdom (paññā) and knowledge (sutaṃ), whereas we have seen in the case of a wife the word 'sādisi' stood for equality of age (tulyavaya). Possession of strength was also no factor in the formation or growth of friendship. The example of the lion living amicably with a jackal whose friendship saved his life at a critical moment affords us an illustration of this fact in the 'Guṇa Jātaka' (No. 157, II, p. 157) wherein the lion observes :

"Api ce dubbalo mitto mittadhammesu tiṭṭhati
So ñātako ca bandhu ca so mitto so ca me sakhā."

"However weak a friend might be, if he keeps intact the conditions of friendship, he is the acquaintance, the relation, the friend and the nearest and the dearest one."

Similarly poverty was no impediment to the fostering of friendship with the rich :

"Karaniyāṇi mettāni daliddenāpi senaka
Passa mettānukampāya samaggāha sañātike."

"One should make friendship even with the poorest for with the help of such a friend we have been brought to our acquaintances."

The virtues which characterised a friend as enumerated in the "Mittāmitta Jātaka (No. 473, IV, pp. 196-199) are quite simple and indicative of the early existence of the Aryan society in a strange land surrounded by unfriendly people. They are: (I) to remember a friend when he is away from home, (2) to feel delighted at his return, (3) to soothe him with gentle words when ailing, (4) to be among his well-wishers and not his enemies, (5) to restrain others from speaking evil of him, (6) to be in company with those who praise him, (7) to open secrets to him and keep nothing secret from him, (8) to extol his wisdom and praise his works, (9) to rejoice in his prosperity and feel downhearted at his fall, and (10) to feel at a banquet the want of his company and to express the desire that he might also meet with the same.

Adversity, it is said, makes strange bedfellows and the limited circle of acquaintances in a small state not in a position to give adequate protection to individuals made them largely dependent on mutual comradeship and friendly alliances in which consideration of caste or creed had practically no place.

The door of friendship was even open to strangers who upon some practical demonstration of friendly motives were also to be acknowledged as friends. Such a simple incident as residence for a single night receiving the hospitality of a stranger by accepting from him food and drink, was enough to warrant friendship between the guest and his host in ancient India. Thus expressed the Brahmin minister Vidhura to Yakkha Puṇṇaka when the the latter gave indications of an unfriendly attitude:

"Yass' ekarattim pi ghare vaseyya
Yath' aṇṇapānam puriso labhetha
Na tassa pāpam manasādhicetaye
Adubbhapānim ḍahate mitta dubho."

"If one should stay even for a single night at another's house and receive food and drink therefrom, he must not think evil of his benefactor much less do him harm. The one, who

injures such a friend verily burns the hand that hitherto remained free from wound."

The rendering of a personal service by one and its acceptance by another were in themselves sufficient to unite individuals in the bond of friendship. The friend was likened unto a tree that sheltered even for a little while the refugee who sought it.

"Yassa rukkhassa chāyāya nisideyya sayeyya vā
Na tassa sākhaṃ bhañjeyya mittadubho hi pāpako"
(p. 310, VI).

"If one should lie down or sit under the shade of a tree he must not break its branches as violation of friendship is sinful."

A traitor injuring such a benefactor suffers the worst agonies of life in this world and goes to the most terrible hell in the next.

"Kuṭṭhi kilāsi bhavati yo mittānam idha dubbhati
Kāyassa bhedā mittaddu nirayam so upapajjati"
(p. 72, V).
(*Cf.* p. 87, V ; p. 103, VI.)

Commensality not restricted by caste.

From what we have said regarding 'ñāti' or acquaintances and 'mitta' or friends in previous pages, it appears very clearly that there was absolutely no ground for maintaining any restriction as to the mode of eating together among different castes. This will appear so upon an examination of concrete cases relating to the subject of commensality in ancient India. The only caste which perhaps was treated differently in the matter of distribution of food was the 'Chaṇḍālas' who practically constituted no caste at all being outside all castes. For, we find these people living beyond the pale of society and demanding at a feast the remnants of food as their due but not participating in the taking of food like the four main castes. In the Mātaṅga Jātaka (No. 497, IV), the sage Mātaṅga born of a Chaṇḍāla, while expecting food from Māṇḍavya an orthodox

Brahmin who had prepared a feast, was evidently referring to the custom of the country in the following words :

" Aṇṇam tava idaṃ pakataṃ yasassi
Taṃ khajjare bhuñjare piyyare ca
Jānāsi tvaṃ paradattūpajiviṃ
Uttiṭṭha-piṇḍam labhataṃ sopāko "

(p. 380, IV).

" O renowned Brahmin, here is ready a nice feast which all will enjoy ; but, are you aware of one who lives by begging? Let the Chaṇḍāla receive the remnants of food." And, in this particular case though the Chaṇḍāla sage was refused alms in the first instance, for dereliction of duty, the Brahmin had to suffer a certain punishment which ceased only when he made amends by voluntarily partaking of the food partially eaten by the same Chaṇḍāla sage. The Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka having a definite instance of the Brahmin Paṇḍit Vidhura (p. 401, III) accepting cooked rice from all castes at a public ceremony, finally sets the question of eating together at rest.

" Samāgatā jānapadā negamā ca samāgatā bahum
Bahum aṇṇañ ca pānañ ca paṇḍitassā bhihārayuṃ "

(p. 328, VI).

" A vast number of townsfolk and countryfolk assembled together and brought for the Paṇḍit large quantities of cooked rice and plenty of beverage."

There being no distinction in food, which is more responsible than anything else for creating distinctive groups of castes in times of taking meals, objection raised by one caste against another for eating together was improper and unthought of.

Unless it was a case of special delicacy which only the rich could afford, the general food of the people consisted of rice and flesh (maṃsa and bhattaṃ). The poorer section that could not provide flesh had to content itself with rice and its gruel (yāgu

and bhattaṃ) while the rich were in daily enjoyment of flesh cooked in rice.

"Sālinaṃ bhojanam bhuñje sucim maṃsupasecanam"
(p. 29, III, p. 144, III; etc.).

Also,

"Rājā te bhattaṁ pāhesi suciṃ mamsupasecanaṃ"
(p. 327).

It should be noted that the Brahmins as a class did not form an exception to those who lived on flesh. Not only did the Brahmins partake of flesh but also lived as hunters or butchers and carried on trade in flesh.

"Pasū pi tattha haññanti mahisā sukarā ajā
Goghātakasamā rāja te pi vuccanti brāhmaṇā."
(p. 364, IV).

Examples are also not wanting of cases in which men overcome with an insatiable lust for tasting flesh having disposed of every kind but human flesh, resorted to cannibalism.

Perhaps the zenith of freedom in the matter of food and drink was already reached in the Jātakas for we see the next step towards their limitations is in progress and the initiative taken by the Khattiyas in this direction.

"Pañca pañca na khā bhakkhā khattiyena pajānatā
Abhakkhaṃ rāja bhakkhesi, tasmā adhammiko tuvan ti"
(p. 489, VI).

The above passage is explained in the commentary as follows: "Of all flesh five kinds are eatable for a Khattriya, *viz.*, Sasaka (hare), Sallaka (deer), Godho (iguana), Sāci (porcupine) and Kummo (tortoise) while the rest are not fit for consumption." In fact, distinction in the matter of food which did not exist before had just begun to grow up in society giving rise to complicated rules of connubium and commensality.

We may now sum up our observations on ancient Indian society in so far as it is reflected in the Jātakas in the following words:

Conclusion.

Impling no more than mere family title the caste did not regulate the professions of men though the original idea in launching the scheme was to restrict the functions of individuals according to its respective gradations. A Brahmin's son became a Brahmin by reason of birth; in like manner descendants of Khattriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras took the caste of their fore-fathers, but, in the matter of selection of professions they were seldom interfered with on that score. It was the nature of work and the excellence shown in its performance that determined the prestige and honour of its author.

Men living in society were generally relations tied by the bonds of matrimony, which was confined to 'ñātis' or acquaintances, a custom which undoubtedly points to the early existence of tribal system of government from pre-Vedic times. The discriminating rules on connubium and commensality which characterise the Indian society were as yet unknown.

Brahmins are undoubtedly referred to in the Jātakas as being proud of their birth but this was not due to their enjoying priority of claim in all social matters. Free from egoism as an 'Ācāriya,' an 'Isi' and a 'Bhikkhu' the Brahmin was the ideal type of man put forth and extolled in Jātaka literature. It was the Brahmin's wisdom, knowledge of various cults and the spirit of renunciation which in reality maintained his supremacy in society rather than his arrogant desire for domination over other castes, an allegation, for which, so far as the Jātakas are concerned, there is no foundation in fact.

"Addhā have sevitabbā sapaññā
Bahussutā ye bahuṭhānacintino
Yes'ayam sutvāna subhāsitāni
Appossukā vippasokā sudhammā ti."

(p. 453, IV).

(*Ef.* p. 176; p. 306, III; p. 467, IV).

Surely, indeed the wise, the larned and those who are adept in various arts should be served, hearing whose good words men become free from sorrow, joyful and virtuous.

As embodied in the above gāthā the criterion of society was virtue combined with learning and wisdom and the ideal of men was to serve the learned, the wise and the saint.

POLITY

In India history meant the history of her civilisation. From time immemorial the authors who undertook to narrate the political events of the country were mostly sages living in hermitages and leading saintly lives themselves they stressed the cultural side of the society rather than the political which consists in the enumeration of succession of kings and their works. The people also bothered themselves less over the activities of kings which were more or less of personal nature than over their virtues which made a permanent impression on them. The result has been that from the modern point of view there is a general dearth of historical works in the wide field of Indian literature. Emulation of virtues in kings and detestation of their sins engaged the foremost attention of these writers who paid little regard towards events of political importance and their chronology. In their extreme desire to depict what is beautiful and beneficial these sages became more of idealists than realists and produced works which are known as Epics and Purāṇas describing events that might be said to have happened in a highly virtuous state.

Jātakas more authentic than other records.

The Jātakas culled out from popular folk-lore in verse omitting the bulk that was unnecessary for the elucidation of Buddhistic morals were, on the other hand, originated by the people and possessed none of the gloss or high-flowing language so common in idealistic literature.[1] And though their avowed object was far from depicting the history of the land as evidenced by their unostentatious mode of presentation, they have mostly preserved references to conditions social, political and religious which were more real than imaginary, immensely heightening their value in the reconstruction of India's past civilisation.

These references to social and political conditions of ancient India are undoubtedly incidental and are found lying scattered all

1 *Vide* 'Manipulation and Antiquity of Jātakas,' also 'Development of the Jātaka Vatthu,' in the previous articles

over the text which deals with a theme having very little connection with them. For, the Jātakas were meant for illustrating the effect of 'Karma' on the repeated bīrths of man, ultimately leading to heaven or hell according as it was good or bad. Examples of kings served best this avowed purpose of the Jātakas and therefore such references became inevitable by way of illustrations. The author or authors of the Jātakas had no idea of recording them for their own sake.

Period assigned to the Jātakas is post-Vedic and pre-Buddhistic.

The period assigned to the incidents referred to in the Jātakas is, according to the scholars who have worked in the field and the trend of thought expressed in them as we shall see presently, pre-Buddhistic and post-Vedic. This is also corroborated by the fact that a story cannot come under the category of a Jātaka-story unless it is a story of the past (atīaṃ)[1] at the time of its narration and if their origin can be traced to the very life-time of the Buddha, these references necessarily go back to the pre-Buddhistic times.

Dr. Fick is of opinion that they have been scarcely altered from the state they were in when they were handed down from mouth to mouth among early Buddhists and that they can be referred undoubtedly in all that relates to those social conditions to the time of Buddha himself. While Dr. Bühler observes that in view of the fact that there are remarkably few traces of Buddhism in those stories they do not describe the conditions of India in the 3rd or 4th century B. C. but an earlier one. We shall now confine our attention to the Jātaka-verses in so far as they relate to ancient Indian polity.

Political divisions of Northern India.

Extending from Gandhāra on the west to Magadha on the east and from the Himalayas on the north to the Narbada on the south, practically the whole of Northern India is represented in the Jātakas as being divided into several small states each, though not

1 'Bhagavā pañca jātakasatāni bhāsanto attano ca paresaṃ ca *atītaṃ ādisati*'—Culla Niddesa, p. 80.

expressly mentioned, having a king at its head. These were (1) Gandhāra (IV, p. 98), (2) Pañcāla (VI, p. 280), (3) Surasena (VI, p. 280), (4) Maccha (VI, p. 280), (5) Madda (VI, p. 280), (6) Kekaka (VI, p. 280), (7) Sāketa (VI, p. 228), (8) Kosambi (VI, p. 237), (9) Kuru (VI, p. 272), (10) Kāsi (V, p. 376), (11) Vajji (VI, p. 238), (12) Kusāvati (V, p. 294), (13) Magadha (VI, p. 236), (14) Aṅga (V, p. 317), (15) Videha (VI, p. 221), (16) Dasaṇṇaka (VI, p. 238), (17) Goyāniya (VI, p. 278), (18) Assaka (III, p. 6), (19) Vaṃsa (VI, p. 236), (20) Avanti (V, p. 317), (21) Kaliṅga (III, p. 6) and a few others.

The spread of Vedic culture and of Ārya Sanātana Dharma undoubtedly brought the people of these kingdoms under common social institutions and religion but the want of a paramount authority at the centre fostered a feeling of jealousy among these kings and caused them to fight one another and annex the dominions of the weaker ones whenever possible. Even then, although on the assumption of extraordinary powers some king established sovereignty over others and sought to form an empire (ekarajjam) with their kingdoms such an attempt eventually resulted more in the disintegration of the annexed dominions than in their unification, perhaps due to the inherent weakness in the system of government itself. Conflicts between the kings of different states became events of daily occurrence while common people were so much inured to these vicissitudes that they carried on their daily avocations without being much affected by them. A more powerful king of a certain state if he conquered another state was seldom opposed by its people who believed that victory went with him who was better fitted to govern and had superior virtues.

Nanu te sutaṃ brāhmaṇa bhaññamāne
Devā na issanti purisaparakkamassa
Damo samādhi manaso adejjho
Avyaggatā nikkamanañ ca kāle
Dalhañ ca viriyam purisaparakkamo ca
Ten' eva āsi vijayo Assakānan ti (p. 7, III.)

The statement as given above shows the general feeling of the people of Kalinga at the victory obtained by the king of Assakas over their king and it meant that gods never feel jealous of, in other words help the man who is energetic. The king of Assakas therefore, became victorious having superior virtues such as self-restraint, concentration, unwavering mind, unity of purpose and action at the right time, strength, energy and perseverance.

The kingdom of Benares which in the Buddha's time existed as a vassal territory first under the suzerainty of Kosala and secondly under Magadha, appears in the Jātakas to have attained its highest glory and power dominating even over the kingdoms of Assakas, Avanti, Magadha and Aṅga (V, p. 317). We hear of a king of Benares laying siege to the town of Takkasilā in Gandhāra with a view to extending the borders of his dominion though he was unsuccessful (II, p. 217). The kingdom of Madda having Sāgala as its capital was again the scene of contention among several chiefs who vied with one another in seeking the hands of the fair princess Prabhāvatī who had returned to her father's palace at Sāgala to effect the dissolution of her marriage with Prince Kusa of Kusāvatı (V, p. 294). Again, Vıdeha, the paramount ruler of Magadha was exciting the envy of Pañcāla (Kampilla raṭṭha) who after a series of tactics employed against his rival for capturing him eventually fell into his hands (VI, pp. 424-45).[1]

The desire for conquest in a rising monarch was mainly to establish his supremacy over others in spirituality by 'ekarajjaṃ' or universal monarchy in India (Jambu-dipa) rather than to satisfy his greed for wealth accruing out of the annexed kingdoms. The idea was more of a religious character than political and had its origin in the example of Indra in heaven.[2] In many instances the vassal kings were left practically untouched

Conquest for universal monarchy.

[1] For a fuller description of these states, *vide* Dr. Raychaudhuri's 'Political History of Ancient India,' dwelling on 'Sixteen Mahājanapadas,' pp. 59-100.

[2] Sa tādiso bhumipati raṭṭhapālo akodhano
āmantesampakampeti Indo va asūrādhipo ti (p. 243, V.)

on mere acknowledgment of submission while they enjoyed their kingdoms as freely as ever, provided they agreed to help their overlord in times of war. The vassal kings of Pañcāla are referred to in the Ummagga Jātaka in the following words:

Ath 'etth' ekasataṃ khatyā anuyuttā yasassino
Aacchinnaraṭṭhā vyathitā Pañcālīnaṃ vasaṃ gatā
Yaṃvadā takkarā rañño akāmā piyabhāṇino
Pañcālam anuyāyanti akāmā vasino gatā

(p. 397, VI).

Then, the one-hundred famous kkhattriyas who although they were not dislodged from their kingdoms, were very sad as they had come under the sway of the king of Pañcāla. They spoke and acted according to his wishes and followed and pleased him sometimes unnecessarily.

Acquirement of fame and its diffusion were the objects for achieving universal monarchy which being attained a king's mission was said to have been fulfilled.

Cāturanto mahāraṭṭho vijitāvī mahabbalo
Pathavyā *ekarājāsi yaso te vipulaṃ gato*

(p. 476, VI.)

The advantages of a united kingdom were also not lost sight of, it being generally felt that the subjects of a universal monarch were perpetually happy and contented.

Sace ca *rajā paṭhaviṃ* vijetvā
Sajīvavā assavā pārisajjo
Sayaṃ eva so sattusaṃghaṃ vijeyya
Tassa *eva pajā niccasukhā* bhaveyya

(p. 214, VI).

In not a few cases matrimonial alliances played a prominent part in the formation and consolidation of an empire where the father-in-law became the suzerain and sons-in-law, already kings of their own territories, his vassals forming the units of the empire. The rājā of Maddā had seven daughters besides Prabhāvatī and each was given to one of the contending chiefs

who laid siege to Madda while Prabhāvatī was restored to her husband Prince Kusa of Kusāvati who had by his superhuman valour saved her life from their wrath. It was at his suggestion that Madda came to be recognised as their common overlord.

Imā te dhitaro satta devakaññā samā subhā
Dadāhi tesaṃ ekekaṃ hontu jāmātāro tavan' ti
Amhākañ ca eva tīsañ ca tvaṃ no sabbesam issaro
Tvañ ñeva no mahārājā dehi nesaṃ yad icchasi'ti (p. 311, V).

Pañcāla was similarly reconciled to Videha through matrimony :

Iṃgha passa mahārāja suññaṃ antepuraṃ tava
Orodhā ca kumārā ca tava mātā ca khattiya
Ummaggā niharitvāna Videhass' upanāmitā ti (p. 455, VI).

Divisions of the State.

Each of these states under the rule of an independent monarch was denominated a '*raṭṭha*' of which the principal constituent parts were (1) *janapada*[1] or the villages and (2) *nigama* or the city, *i.e.*, the urban portion. Large tracts of forest or groups of mountains which were no man's land being resorts of 'rishis,' formed generally the boundaries of these states that were seldom conterminant.

"Mahārukkhūpamaṃ *raṭṭham* dhammena yo pasāsati
Rasañ c' assa vijānāti *raṭṭhañ* c' assa na nassati"
Yo rājā *janapadam* adhammena pasāsati
Sabbosadhīhi so rājā viruddho hoti khattiyo
Tath' va *negame* hiṃsaṃ ye yuttā kayavikkaye
Ojadānabalīkare sa *kosena* virujjhati ti (p. 243, V).

'Assamas' or hermitages appear forming the boundaries of a 'janapada' in the following passage :

Phītaṃ *janapadaṃ gantvā* hatthinā ca rathena ca
Dārusaṃghāṭayānena evaṃ gaccha Naḷīniye
Kadalidhajapaññāṇo ābhujiparivārano
Eso padissati rammo Isisiṅgassa assamo (pp. 194, 195, V).

[1] Janapada is also found used in the sense of 'raṭṭha', a kingdom; *cf.* Brahmadatto Kāsirājā Dighītissa Kosalarañño balañ ca vāhanañ ca *janapadañ* ca kosañ ca koṭṭhāgārañ ca abhivijiya ajjhāvasati—p. 342, M. V., Ch. X.

Thus, the villages constituting the 'janapada' formed the major portion of the state, mostly inhabited by cultivators who regularly supplied the king with corns while the city was the market-town where articles of various kinds were sold by artisans paying a part of the sale-proceeds to the state as a tax.[1] The king, who it is said misruled his 'janapada' went short of grains (sabbosadhīhi so rājā viruddho hoti) and when he harassed his 'nigama,' suffered from want of funds (negame hiṃsaṃ...sa kosena virujjhati).

General features of the 'nigama.'

The 'pura' or 'nigama'[2] was in the shape of a large citadel surrounded by a moat (parikhā) encircling the wall or the embankment which stood protecting the city with many gates (uddā-pasampannaṃ bahupākāratoraṇaṃ). To these gates were attached large doors which could be easily bolted at night from inside (palikhaṃ aggalāni). An 'esikā' or an 'indakhila' generally known as the city gate-pillar stood before each gate at each cardinal point of the compass[3]—a custom which continued as late as the erection of the gateways round the Stupas of Bharhut and Sañchi towards the beginning of the Christian era. The posting of a pillar before each gate was considered an auspicious sign associated with Indra. The Buddha referred to the gateway pillars in the following gāthā :

Yath' indakhilo paṭhaviṃ sito siyā
Catuhi vātehi asampakampiyo
Tathūpamaṃ sappurisaṃ vadāmi
Yo ariyasaccāni avecca passati

(Ratana Suttaṃ)

'I call him a good man who discerns the four noble truths and is firm like the city-gate pillar which is well-fastened in the

1 The tax levied amounted to one-sixth or one-tenth as the case might be, of the total yield (chabbhāgadasabhāgādibhedaṃ baliṃ karonti—Jāt. Com., V p. 244).

2 A resident of a city was styled a 'negamo.' *Cf.* Rājagahako negamo,'—p. 268, M. V., Ch. VII.

3 The city gate pillar contained a certain symbol on its top which indicated the direction in which the gate stood.

ground and is unshakable by winds coming from the four quarters.' Roads were laid out on a definite plan and where they crossed each other there were parks (siṃghāṭakesu bhumiyo). On these roads houses and shops were erected in accordance with the sites they stood upon (paṇṇasālāyo vibhattā bhāgaso mitā), each house having a courtyard abutting on the road (nivesane nivese ca sandhibbūhe patatthiyo, p. 276, VI). They were generally occupied by musicians, dancers, artists, ale-house managers, prostitutes, acrobats, florists, goldsmiths, etc., who by their activities and merriments kept the whole city constantly astir day and night (pp. 276, 277, VI).

It would thus appear that the city which, for all practical purposes, was a citadel meant for the safe and comfortable residence of the king and his courtiers, had also to serve the object of a fête to afford amusements to all who came there to transact business from villages, besides being itself a place of interest for the aristocracy and the army which permanently resided there. In times of war, it was the city which formed the target of an advancing foe and with its fall the whole kingdom was conquered.

king represented the head of government and society.

The king was held responsible not only for good government in his state but also for the virtues and vices of his subjects who were supposed to follow his example in their everyday lives.

Gavañ ce taramānānaṃ ujuṃ gacchati puṅgavo
Sabbā tā ujuṃ gacchanti nette ujugate sati
Evaṃ evaṃ manussesu yo hoti seṭṭhasammato
So ce pi dhammaṃ carati pag eva itarā pajā
Sabbam raṭṭhaṃ sukhaṃ seti rājā ce, hoti dhammiko

(p. 242, V.)

Far from being above law, the king was blamable for the woes and miseries of his people, who however seldom urged his removal and calmly reconciled themselves to their lots even in extreme trouble and agony.

In all his acts with regard to the state the king was guided, in a certain measure, by the advice of Brahmin ministers whose number generally depended on the portfolios of government. In most cases the number was three, one for spiritual, one for temporal and the third for conducting military affairs. Their general designation was 'amacca' while the especial appellations of the first and the last were 'purohita' and 'senāpati' respectively.

Ministers were an advisory body only

Ahu rājā Vedehānaṃ Aṃgāti nāma khattiyo
Pahutayoggo dhanimā anantabalapariso
So ca pannarasiṃ rattiṃ purime yāme anāgate
Cātumassa komudiyā *amacce* sannipātayi:
Paṇditasutasampanne mihitapubbe vicakkhaṇe
Vijayañ ca *Sunāmañ* ca *senāpatiṃ Alātakaṃ*

(p. 221, VI).

As will appear from the above Aṃgāti, the king of Videha, had three ministers, Vijaya, Sunāma and Alātaka, the last being designated Senāpati. Another king of Videha had five ministers headed by Mahosadha whose main work was to devote himself to philosophical problems and help the king in the administration of justice and also to devise ways and means for the safety of the kingdom and the royal person in the capacity of a Senapati (Pañcapaṇḍitapañha, pp. 371-389, VI). There were again ten 'paṇḍitas,' a very common designation of 'amaccas,' as advisers to the king of Pañcāla whose mother also, we are told, acted as a minister, in all making the number eleven.

'Das' ettha paṇḍitā ahu bhuripaññā rahogamā
Mātā ekādasi rañño Pañcāliyam pasaṃsati

(p. 396, VI).

On the other hand, there was only one minister named Vidhura Paṇḍita in the kingdom of Kuru who supervised all the affairs of the state under its king Dhanañjaya.

These ministers were selected by the king himself from among the best intellects of the kingdom. It was therefore

natural that the Brahmins generally held the office with much credit and success which descended from father to son. The king who thus freely chose his ministers dispensed with their services whenever he found it expedient either in the interest of his state or in his own. Infidelity in them was punished with death.

Paññō *bajjho Mahosadho* ti
Ānatto me badhāya bhuripaññō
Taṃ cintayamāno dummano 'smi
Na hi devi aparādho atthi tuyhan ti

(p. 384, VI).

The sage Mahosadha is to be executed and for that purpose he has been summoned by me. Thinking of all this I feel sad. O Queen, you are not guilty of any offence.

Remuneration of ministers.

For their services rendered to the state, the ministers got as remuneration villages together with cows, chariots, elephants, etc., according to their merits and the degree of confidence they could produce in themselves. The king of Videha conferred gifts upon his minister Mahosadha who had just satisfied him with a suitable answer to his query in the following words :

Yaṃ taṃ apucchiṃha akittayi no
Mahosadham kevaladhammadassi
Gavaṃ sahassaṃ usabhañ ca nāgam
Ājaññayutte ca rathe dasā ime
Pañhassa veyyākaraṇena tuṭṭho
Dadāmi te gāmavarāni solasā ti

(p. 363, VI).

In addition to these gifts of villages, etc., they also received salaries and food.

Vuttiñ ca parihārañ ca diguṇaṃ *bhattavetanam*
Dadāmi vipule bhoge bhuñja kāme ramassu ca

(p. 461, VI).

Vidhura Paṇḍita, the minister of king Dhanañjaya of Kuru while exhorting his own kinsmen before his departure for Nāga-

loka stressed the importance of cultivating fidelity and humility in all their acts and manners shown before the king who actually showered on them all the necessaries and comforts of life even like the god of the sky raining down on the earth.

Kumbhaṃ pañjalin kariyā vāyasaṃ va padakkhinaṃ
Kim eva *sabbakāmānaṃ dātāram* dhiram uttamam
Yo deti sayanaṃ vatthaṃ yānaṃ āvasathaṃ gharaṃ
Pajjunno-r-iva bhutāni bhogehi-m-abhivassati

(p. 298. VI).

From the extract above, there can be little doubt as to the fact that the person of the king was considered very sacred and the homage he received went nothing short of deification, while the reference to Pajjuṇṇa, god of the sky who in post-Vedic times was eclipsed by Indra, warrants its antiquity to be of Vedic age or an age not far remote from it.

Bankers also king's servants.

Besides the ministers over whom the king had full control there were the treasurers called 'Gahapatis' or Seṭṭhis wrongly translated as householders, who were also considered as king's men. In Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka (No. *b* 42) we find that the king of Pupphavati (an ancient name of Benares) wanted on the advice of his 'purohita' Khaṇḍahāla to perform a human sacrifice the victims of which were to be chosen from among his own men comprising his sons, ministers and 'gahapatis,' as he was led to believe that such an act on his part would ensure his entrance into heaven. Orders were therefore given to these people to assemble at the appointed place and be prepared for death.

Gahapatayo pi vadetha Puṇṇamukham
Bhaddiyaṃ Singālañca
Vaddhan cāpi gahapatiṃ ;
Pasurā kira hotha yaññatthāyā ti

(p. 135, VI).

It is therefore not improbable that a major portion of the king's wealth was invested in the capital of these treasurers

whose fortune rested on the profit accruing from it. It might also be,—a more plausible argument—that these 'gahapatis' were king's own creations[1] to be subjected to any kind of treatment he was pleased to mete out to them as occasion demanded.

Administrative functions belonged to the king while executive ones belonged to his officers.

In total disregard of the size of the kingdom which generally comprised villages to the number not below fifty or sixty thousand, the great fact that emanates from the Jātakas is, that the king himself undertook to conduct the business of the whole state.

Saṭṭhi gāmasahassāni paripuṇṇāni sabbaso
Te putta paṭipajjassu rajjaṁ niyyādayāmī te

(p. 258, V).

He was solely responsible for the administration of justice in his kingdom, for the purpose of which he set apart a portion of his palace-hall and himself sat in judgment over the numerous suits brought in by his subjects who had free access thereto. A certain court-fee was levied on each suit and the revenue thus collected went to swell his coffer.

Evaṁ evaṁ manussesa vivādo yattha yāyati
Dhammaṭṭhaṁ patidhāvanti; so he nesaṁ vināyako
dhanāpi tattha jīyanti rajakoso ca vaḍḍhatī

(p. 336, III).

The Jātaka verses do not permit us to accept the view that apart from the king there were other judges appointed by the state to try these cases as they are distinctly silent on this point, noting in particular that the king himself tried them even when fondling his child seated on the lap.

Ucchaṅge maṃ nisīdetvā *pitā atth' ānusāsati*
Ekaṃ hanatha, badhatha ekam
khārāpatacchikam
Ekaṃ sūlasmiṃ accetha icc-assa-ṃ-anusāsati

(p. 17, VI).

[1] *Cf.* 'A very poor man was appointed by the king as Lord Treasurer.'—Jātaka No. 109, Dr. B. C. Sen.

However severe these sentences might be they were no doubt imposed in accordance with the established usage of the penal laws and not through any whim of the ruler who followed these laws in letter and spirit (Anusāsanī, p. 113, V).

Though at times he depended on the advice of his ministers in perplexing situations, their appointment, as of other royal officers, was chiefly made with a view to executing his orders.

Mahāmattā ca me atthi *mantino paricārakā*
Bārānasiṃ voharanti bahumaṃsasurodakam
(p. 134, IV).

"I have in my service," observes a king of Benares, "mahāmattas (ministers of royal blood, generally brothers of the king 'rājabhātikā mahāpaññā mantesu kusalā mahāmaccā' J. Com.), ministers and others who have kept Benares free from all dangers with the result that business has flourished and its people have become prosperous."

Those officers of the king who were appointed to see to the needs of the people and collect taxes from them were called 'yuttas' and 'tuṇḍiyas.' They had the notoriety of being mostly oppressive and unreliable, thereby increasing all the more the necessity of the king to see and do things himself.

Sayam janapadaṃ atthaṃ anusāsa rethesabha
Mā te *adhammikā yuttā* dhanaṃ raṭṭhaṃ ca nāsayuṃ
(p. 117, V).

Regarding the 'tuṇḍyas' common people observed :

Rattimhi corā khadanti divā *khādanti tuṇḍiyā*
Raṭṭhasmiṃ kuḍḍarājassa bahu adhammikā janā
(p. 102, Vj.

These 'tuṇḍiyas' who were appointed to collect taxes from the people on pain of death or imprisonment (vadhabandhanādihipīḷetvā balisādhakā) oppressed them to such an extent that they were likened unto the thieves who carried on their depredations at night.

Gāmanis—administrators of villages.

Although we are told of the direct control of the state by the king with a certain number of men under him, it is idle to believe that these were sufficient to cope with the works of administration of all the departments of government, controlling no less than sixty thousand villages. To work such a constitution with any degree of success an individual, be he a king of exceptional capacity, would appear as performing something like a miracle. But the fact was not so. On a closer examination we find that the villages had each a headman called gāmani (gāmajeṭṭhaka, —p.311, V) on whom devolved the principal functions of an administrator. Having permitted slaughter of animals to take place at a Soma-sacrifice and the people of a village to indulge in the drinking of spirituous liquors the 'gāmabhojakas' or the 'gāmanis' of the respective villages regret afterwards :

Pānātipātam akarum somayāge upaṭṭhite
Tes' āham samanuññāsiṃ
Tena pacchā vijigucchiṃ taṃ pāpaṃ pakataṃ mayā
Surāmerayamadhukā ye janā paṭham' āsu no
Bahunnaṃ te anatthā majjapāṇam akappayuṃ
Tes' āham samanuññāsiṃ
etc. etc.

(pp. 116, 117, IV).

The passages cited above at least furnish one proof that the village headman known as the gāmaṇi or the gāmabhojaka as he is called in prose had the fullest control over the public affairs of the village. 'In the Vedic period the Gāmaṇi (Grāmaṇī) was the key-stone of the village-constitution. The villages even took to themselves the name of their leader (Grāmaṇi).' (Hindu Polity, p. 15.) Therefore, it would not be difficult to understand that the work of village construction or of directing its affairs and the settlement of local disputes were primarily matters for his concern. He held a seat in the village next to that of the king himself surrounded by friends and flatterers and living as he did constantly in pomp and power he had only to apprehend danger

from the sovereign apparently for any neglect of duty that was imposed on him. To this the testimony of the Jātakas is borne by the undermentioned words of a hermit of the forest who refers to the luxury of the gāmaṇis as a positive danger to his asceticism that might befall him if he stole the lily-stalks of a certain Brahmin (Bhisa Jātaka, No. 488).

So gāmaṇī hotu sahāya majjhe
Naccehigītehi pamodamāno
Mā *rājato vyasanam* alattha kiñci
Bhisāni te brāhmaṇa yo ahāsi

(p. 310, IV).

The relationship between gāmaṇis and the king

It is very difficult to state exactly the relationship which existed between the king and the 'gāmaṇis.' Whether or not these village headmen were elected by the villagers from among themselves or they were creations of the king for some acts of merit performed by them it is not very easy to ascertain. We hear of Brahmins who were recipients of villages from a king on account of their display of spiritual or intellectual powers by which they won his admiration and special favour. Not only villages but also along with villages gifts of other things such as gold coins, maidservants, cows and even wives were made in the following words :

Dadami te gamavarani pañca
Dāsisataṃ satta gāvaṃ satāni
Paro sahassañ ca suvaṇṇanikkhe
Bhariyā ca te sādisī dve dadāmi

(p. 99, IV).

In India merit seldom went unrecognised by her people, moreover we had occasion to refer to the fact that merit was the criterion by which people in society were judged (Jātaka verses on Sociology). Gāmaṇis are also described as ācariyas or teachers of various military professions such as of fighting while riding elephants, horse or chariots, etc , as the case might be

(hatthācariya, assācariya or rathika—p. 260, V) and to be closely associated with the king.

'Saṭṭhi nāgasahassāni sabbālaṃkāra bhusitā
Suvaṇṇakacchā mātāṇgā hemakappanavāsāsā
Ārūḷhā *gāmaṇīyehi* tomaraṃ kusapāṇihi—
Te putta paṭipajjassu, rajjam niyyādayāmi te
(p. 258. V).

And, it is a truism that whether a gāmaṇi be a 'Brāhmin ācariya' devoting his life to the pursuit of pure art or an ācariya of some other caste adept in the art of warfare, he would command respect of every one in the village and be its lord under the patronage of the king extended to him in the manner as stated above.

It also appears, from Mahā Janaka Jātaka, No. 532, that being seated on their respective posts it was customary for the 'gāmanis' to follow the king when he toured his kingdom.

Kadāssu maṃ hatthignmbā sabbālaṃkārabhusitā
Suvaṇṇakacchā mataṅgā hemakappanavāsasā
Arūlhā *gāmaṇīyehi* tomaraṃ kusapāṇihi
Yantaṃ maṃ nānuyissanti, taṃ kadāssu bhavissati
(p. 49. VI).

It is very unlikely that the Brahmin ācariyas who were recipients of royal benefactions would on these occasions be called upon to serve as body-guards of the king.

It, therefore, naturally follows that the 'gāmanis' were exactly those village headmen proficient in their respective occupations who were in close touch with the king to render him services on particular occasions.

It becomes also clear that the 'gāmanis' were not only peoples' representatives but also kings' favourites regularly enjoying certain revenues raised from their respective villages to be able to live perpetually in pomp and luxury—a state which was certainly the negation of aseeticism as is said to have been observed by a hermit sage (p. 310, IV).

We shall be excused here, if to make the matter more clear we digress for a moment into the sphere of the Vinaya literature which is equally, if not more strongly, held in esteem as an authority on ancient Indian history and culture. From the Mahā-vagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka (Oldenberg's Edition, p. 179) we learn that king Bimbisāra had a council of eighty thousand village headmen hailing from eighty thousand villages he had within his kigdom and that he taught these village-heads the laws of the land.

"Asītyā gāmasahassesu issarādhipaccam rajjam kāreti. *Rājā Māgadho* Seniyo Bimbiāro tāni asitiṃ *gāmikasahasssāni diṭṭhadhammike atthe anusāsitvā uyyojesi.*"

(M. V., p. 179)

Again, they were called upon to assemble by the order of the king: 'Kenacid eva karaṇīyena tāni asitim *gāmikasahassāni sannipātāpetvā* Soṇassa Koḷivisassa santike dūtam pāhesi.'

In this way, the villages were co-ordinated through their respective heads who thriving under royal favour wielded almost the same influence on the people as the king himself who again took particular care to instruct them in the laws of the state at the meetings of the council.

Thus, all the villages in the state had each a gāmani who need not be confounded with the recipient of several villages for his display of exceptional talents before the king. The gāmanis, therefore, were not the entire masters of villages but their administrators though enjoying limited powers under the sovereign of the land and their importance even in time of Bimbisāra, a typical monarch of Magadha, only points out their pre-eminence in much earlier times when monarchy and democracy had not as yet arisen out of the original system. In regard to the representative character of the gāmanis from the very Vedic period Prof. Jayaswal's statement in his 'Hindu Polity' may be read with advantage. The learned Professor observes, 'We already find in the Vedic period the principle of

representation appreciated and variously acted upon; we have the Gāmani or the leader of the town or village as a representative personage in the coronation ceremony'—(p. 14). Dependence on the elder and his duty to protect his people were at the very foundation of society and admittedly constituted the key-note of politics in ancient India.

Mātāpitā ca bhātā ca bhagini *ñātibāndhavā*
Sabbe jeṭṭhassa te bhārā evaṃ jānāhi Bhārata
(p. 326, V).

King's forces

In spite of the support coming from the gāmanis either voluntarily or on compulsion, the king did not depend on them for the preservation of his throne and the defence of his kingdom or when attacking his foe. He constantly maintained a standing army composed of elephants, horses, chatiots and infantry who were regularly fed and paid from the state revenue.

Hatthāruhā anikaṭṭhā rathikā pattikārikā
Tesu na-paṭibaddhāmi *nibaddhambhattavetanaṃ*
(p. 134, IV).

Treasury and granary

The state revenue, we are told, consisted both in coins kept in the treasury and in agricutural produce stored in the king's granary (kosa and koṭṭhagāra). The source of the former was the city and that of the latter, the village. His affluent condition as indicated by the filling up of both was an index of the fulfilment of his mission and became generally a prelude to his renunciation.[1]

Koso mayhaṃ vipulo Koṭṭhāgārañ ca mayhaṃ paripuraṇ
Paṭhavī ca mayham vijitā naṃ hitvā pabbajissāmîti
(p. 184, V).

As related in the Jātakas the principal royal virtue seems to have been this, that in the midst of his thousand and one duties the king consoled himself by thinking that he might renounce the world at the first sign of old age (p. 804, V). Covetousness

1 "Renunciation that is the flag, the banner of India floating all over the world, the one undying thought which India sends again and again as a warning to all dying races, as a warning to all tyranny, as a warning to wickedness in the world"—Vivekānanda.

and luxury had no place in his charcter which was guided by the principles of justice and equity only.

Mines and mints.

Gold mines and mints for the production of coins of various denominations were in existence and very closely guarded against the approach of common people who courted danger if they came in their vicinity.

Goṭṭhaṃ majjaṃ kirāsaṃ vā *sabhāni ḳiraṇāni ca* :
Ārakā parivajjehi yañ eva *visamaṃ pathan ti*

(p. 223, IV.)

Gold coins are frequently referred to in connection with gifts made by the king and were known as 'nikkha' being coins of the highest denomination as they were made of the finest gold then known in India (Nekkhaṃ jambonadassiva ko taṃ ninditum arhati—Dh. Pada-Gāthā, No. 230). The gift of 'Kāsipati' included among others 'nekkhas' as will appear from the following 'gāthā' :

Dadāmi te gāmavarāni pañca
Dāsisataṃ satta gavaṃ satāni
Paro *sahassañ ca suvanṇanikkhe*
Bhariyā ca te sādisi dve dadāmi

(p. 99, IV.)

An estimate of his wealth may be gathered from the fact that he could easily part with a thousand gold coins along with other gifts of no mean value in order to please a Brahmin for all he was worth as referred to in the above gāthā.

Royal benefactions in the shape of endowments.

Not only the king made gifts to deserving people from time to time, but also he regularly made endowments in the cause of righteousness and did all that was needful for their perpetuation. One of the main instructions which he received from sages of the forest whom he sought for advice in times of difficulties, was to establish in his kingdom endowments in the cause of Dhamma.

'Dhammaṃ baliṃ paṭṭhapayassu rāja'

(p. 399, IV).

The feeding of samaṇas, meaning those who had renounced the world and were practising a holy life under some recognised teacher and of Brahmins, *i.e.*, those who were ācariyas and were devoted to learning and teaching, constituted an act of piety which the king was advised constantly to perform. They were therefore entertained at his palace after being invited by royal messengers sent to diverse quarters for the purpose.

Dutā vidhāvantu disā catasso
Nimantakā samaṇabrāhmanānaṃ
(p. 399, IV).

Mode of espionage

Espionage was not unknown but very rarely resorted to by kings. It was the minister responsible for the safety of the king's person who successfully carried out its operation not by men but, we are told, through birds belonging to the species of *suvas* (parrots) and *sālikas* (mina).

Tato ca so apakkamma Vedehassa upantikā
Atha āmantaya dūtaṃ Māṭharaṃ *suvapaṇḍitam*
Ehi samma harīpakkha veyyāvaccaṃ karohi me
Atthi Pañcālarājassa *sālikā sayanapālikā*
Taṃ pattharena pucchassu sā hi sabbassa kovidā
Sā tesaṃ sabbam jānāti raññō ca kosiyassa ca
(p. 418, VI).

It will be evident from the above extract that the 'suva' was sent by Videha to the kingdom of rival king Pañcāla with a view to ascertain his policy underlying his invitation proposing the former's marriage with his daughter. No spy seems to have been appointed to watch the movements or the careers of the subjects within the kingdom.

King's harem.

The administration of the land practically remaining in the hands of the 'grāmanis,' it is not to be wondered at, that over and above his multifarious works which the king inposed on himself attending the diverse functions of his state he could find time to disport along with his wives who numbered several hundreds. Of course, to have more than one wife was not an uncommon

practice at that time. Every man of position had hundreds of wives who were treated more or less like chattel. No better treatment could be expected in the case of king's wives though regarding their fidelity even in times of extreme despair and distress the Jātakas, *i.e.*, the verses, have not raised a single question. In the event of the king's renouncing the world for the life of a hermit the lamentations of these ladies knew no bounds :

Tā sattasatā *bhariyā*
Sabbālaṅkārabhūsitā
Bāhā paggayha pakkandum
'Kasmā no vijahissasi'

(Mahā Janaka Jātaka, p. 53, VI).

Those seven hundred wives adorned with all kinds of ornaments cried with extended hands saying 'why dost thou forsake us'. Evidently they were not blamable.

Questioned by a sage as to how he was faring with his wives the king of Kāsi replied, 'Yes, my wives are all after my liking being taintless and possessing sweet voice, beauty and fame. They are mothers of sons and are obedient to my will.'—

Atho me sādisī bhariyā assavā piyabhāṇini
Puttarūpayasūpetā mama chandavasānugā

(p. 377, V).

To use the word harem for the apartments they lived in is a mistake as its very idea was then unknown and perhaps revolting. The wives were perfectly free to move about in every part of the palace in the midst of all the attendants of the king. Whether it be in his palace (pāsāda), bedroom (kuṭāgāra —sattaratana vicittasayana kuṭāgāragabbha), garden (udyāna), Kannikā-grove (Kaṇṇikāvana), Pātali-grove (pāṭalivana), Mango garden (ambavana), tank (pokkharaṇī), etc., wherever the king rested or walked he was accompanied by his wives.

Yamhi-m-anuvicari rājā
Parikiṇṇo itthāgārehi

(pp. 187-90, V).

We however fail to appreciate the propriety of the king's conduct when he dedicates his 'itthāgāra' (a host of women) to his successor, be he a stranger or his son, in the event of his retirement to which part of his character might justly be ascribed the downfall of many a monarchy in ancient India.

Paññāyihinti etā
Daharā, aññam (rājānaṃ) pi tā gamissanti
(p. 178, V).

Or again,

Itthāgāraṃ pi te dammi sabbālaṃkārabhūsitaṃ
Tā putta paṭipajjassu, tvaṃ no rājā bhavissasi'
(p. 25, VI).

There is edidence however that a wide distinction was maintained between the chief queen[1] whose son generally became the successor and the other wives of the king who served him more or less like concubines.

A code for the guidance of kings.

It would now appear from what we have stated before that the king possessing as he did the full advantages of a standing army, a treasury and a store-house, was a perfect autocrat whose authority there were none to question. But, though, constitutionally he was an autocrat, in practice he was overruled by the combined will of the subjects and, as was generally the case, was guided by a code of discipline that was in conformity with the three Vedas called 'Khattiya manta' or 'Rāja-vinaya.'

Khattiya-mantā ca tayo ca vedā
Atthena ete samakā bhavanti
(p. 214, VI).

We are told in the texts about the existence of a 'Vinaya' which was a code of rules for the guidance of kings to which

[1] Generally daughters of kings (paṭirāja kaññā), p. 25, VI.
Cf. Position of Wives in Society—Jātaka Gleanings on Sociology.—

they generally conformed. The king of Videha had the reputation of being devoted to 'Vinaya.'

Upasaṃkamitvā Vedehaṃ vanditvā
Vinaye rataṃ

(p. 231, VI).

The king of Gandhāra who became a mendicant remarked with regard to the unbecoming conduct of the king of Videha who also having become a monk came into contact with him as follows :

No ce assa sakā buddhi *vinaye vā susikkhito*
Vane andhamahiso va careyya bahuko jano
Yasmā ca pan' idha ekacce ācāramhi susikkhitā
Tasmā *viditavinayā* caranti susamāhitā

(p. 368, III).

So also a swan king when caught reminded the king of men, its captor, of the rules of Vinaya in justification of its conduct :

Ahaṃ khalu mahārāja nāgarājā-r-iv-antaraṃ
Paṭivattuṃ na Sakkomi na me *so vinayo siyā*

(p. 351, V).

That there was a code of discipline under the designation of Vinaya comprising the rules of conduct for kings is clearly evident from the above extracts.

We have in the Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka (No. 545) an enumeration of the several rules of conduct under the title 'rājavasati' meant for the observance of all who were in the service of the king not excluding even ministers. Vidhura Paṇḍita taught all his kinsmen friends and sons to follow them in letter and spirit when living in the court (pp. 292-98, VI).

These instructions regarding 'Rājavasati' or the life to be led when serving the king, contain a set of very interesting rules all centring round the cultivation of humility, loyalty and devotion to the throne. Although these rules are more or less idealistic still they never fail to disclose the relative position of the king in society that had deified him for all practical purposes.

Instructions meant for the observance of kings lie scattered in the text and a few of them might be quoted here to show their nature and the kind of government then in vogue. Tesakuṇa Jātaka (521) briefly puts Rāja-dharma in a few verses given below :

In the first place, the king must be diligent, energetic and persevering in all his acts. His friends he must please and tease his enemies.

So appamato akkuṭṭho tāta kiccāni kāraye
vāyamassu ca kiccesu, nālaso vindate sukhaṃ
Tatth'eva te *vattapadā* esā ca *anusāsanī*
alaṃ mitte sukhāpetuṃ amittānaṃ dukhāya cā ti
(p. 113, V).

The Jātaka next sums up Rāja-dharma as follows :

Dve va tāta padakāni yesu sabbaṃ patiṭṭhitaṁ |
aladdhassa ca yo lābho laddhassa anurakkhanā ||
Amacce tāta jānāhi dhīre *atthassa kovide* |
anakkh'ākitave tāta asoṇḍe avināsake ||
Te ca taṃ tāta rakkheyya dhanaṃ yañc' eva te siyā |
suto va rathaṃ saṃgaṇhe so te kiccāni kāraye ||
Susaṃgahītantajano sayaṃ cittam avekkhiya |
nidhiñ ca iṇadānañ ca na kare parapattiyā ||
Sayaṃ āyavayaṃ jaññā sayaṃ jaññā katākataṇ |
niggaṇhe niggahārahaṃ paggaṇhe paggahārahaṃ ||
Sayaṃ jānapadaṃ atthaṃ anusāsa rathesabha |
mā te adhammikā yuttā dhanaṃ raṭṭhaṃ ca nāsayuṃ ||
Mā ca vegena kiccāni kāresi kārayesi vā |
vegasā hi kataṃ kammaṃ mando pacchānutappati ||
Mā te avisāre muñca subāḷhaṃ adhikodhitaṃ |
kodhasā hi bahū pi tā kulā akulataṃ gatā ||
Mā tāta issaro mhiti anatthāya patārayi |
itthīnaṃ purisānañ ca mā te āsi dukhundrayo ||
Apeta-lomahaṃ-assa rañño kāmānusārino |
Sabba bhogā vinassanti, rañño taṃ vuccate aghaṃ ||
(pp. 116-17, V).

Two are the main factors on which everything relating to the government of a kingdom depends, *viz.*, the acquisition of

what has not been obtained and the preservation of what has been gained. The ministers must be renowned for their wisdom and knowledge of administration. They must be grave, incapable of being bribed and not given to gambling. Whoever will be able to protect wealth belonging to the king even like the charioteer restraining his chariot, should be appointed in the service of the king. Himself knowing the minds of all, the king must keep in accord all the people of his palace and must not give wealth or loans for the benefit of others. He should know the income as well as the expenditure of his state and must be aware of his omission and commission. He should punish the guilty and reward the meritorious. He must himself administer the functions of his state so that his unrighteous employees may not destroy the kingdom or his wealth. Let no act of his be done or caused to be done in haste for regret often follows, as a consequence, such hasty actions. When deciding cases the king must not give himself up to anger due to which many royal families have been destroyed in the past (p. 172, II, p. 267, V). In consideration of the fact that he is the head of all let him not be inclined to do harm to his people and bring suffering unto them. The king who seeks sensual pleasures without caring for critics loses all his fortune. Such an act of his constitutes indeed his sin.

Finally, he was exhorted to practise piety not only with respect to his household, his ministers and his subjects but also in respect of birds and beasts, the doctrine which had great effect on the life and edicts of Emperor Asoka later on.

Dhammaṃ cara mahārāja migapakkhisu khattiya
Idha dhammaṃ caritvāna rāja saggaṃ gamissasī
—p. 123, V.

These exhortations never remained a moral code of instructions only to be assented to by kings while others, more palatable ones, were to be followed in practice. In reality they were obeyed and literally carried out even at the risk of the king's person. Mahākapi Jātaka (No. 407, III) supplies us with an instance

Tribal government and origin of kingship.

in point and its wide appreciation by people is proved by the fact that it forms the subject-matter of a bas-relief on a pillar of the railings of the Stūpa of Bharhut in the S. E. quadrant.

Thus expresses the monkey king when asked why he had endangered his life to save the other monkeys of his tribe :

Rajāhaṃ issaro tesaṃ yuthassa parihārako
* * * *
Taṃ maṃ na tapate bandho vadho me na tapessati
Sukhaṃ āharitaṃ tesaṃ yesaṃ rajjaṃ akārayi
Esā te upamā rāja atthasandassanī katā
Raññā raṭṭhassa yoggassa balassa nigamassa ca
sabbesam sukhaṁ eṭṭhabbaṃ khattiyena pajānatā
—p. 373, III.

King am I of my tribe to render support to it. I have brought to safety all over whom I ruled and now I shall not be sorry in the least if I am killed or thrown into prison. O king, I teach you by my own example that a king must bring happiness to all his subjects residing in the town or in the villages and to his army and servants as is well known to a Kshattriya.

Originally the king was elected by the people and their choice went to the one who was best fitted to rule by reason of his superiority in strength, beauty and character. He was then crowned and made king with the address ' You are our king and lord ' as noted in the Taccha-sūkara Jātaka (No. 492).

Te su udumbaramūlasmiṃ sukarā susamāgatā
Tacchakaṃ abhisiñciṃsu tvan no rājāsi issaro' ti
—p. 350, IV.

The same idea is prominent in the Ulūka Jātaka (No. 270) wherein we find, first, that the need for a king was universally felt and, secondly, that he was elected from among his own people as in the matter of the election of the king from among the birds :

Sabbehi kira ñātihi kosiyo issaro kato
—p. 353, II.

It was after his 'abhiseka' or coronation that he became an object of adoration and not only was his person considered sacred but his descendants that would ascend the throne after him were equally loved and held in great esteem while his lineage caused great anxiety to the subjects when about to be extinct due to the barrenness of his queens.

Uḍḍayhate janapado raṭṭhañ cā pi vinassati
Ehi Nalinike gaccha, tam me Brāhmanaṃ ānayā ti
—p. 194, V.

In these words, the princess Nalinī was sent to seek a Brahmin husband for procuring a son when in the absence of a male issue in the royal family the whole kingdom seemed to go to ruin and the country-folk were in great consternation.

In rare instances, the subjects exercised their ancient rights to dethrone a king when he behaved like a demon having lost all human faculties. We learn from Suta-soma Jātaka (No. 537) that the king having contracted the habit of a man-eating 'Rakkhasa' had to be deprived of his throne and exiled under the peoples' order served on him by the 'Senāpati :'

Evaṃ eva tuvaṃ dipadinda sunohi ṇe
Pabbājissanti taṃ raṭṭhā soṇḍamānavakaṃ
yathā—p. 468, V.

'Listen, O king of men, the subjects are driving you out of the kingdom like one that is drunk.'

But true to their conception of the divine right of a king,[1] the people seldom raised their voice of protest, much less thought of causing any injury to his person even under great suffering caused by his negligence or cruelty. When the king failed to discharge his primary duty to protect his subjects the utmost they felt justified in doing was to guard their own persons themselves.

[1] This theory has been set forth in Chapter 59 of the 'Śānti Parvan.' *Vide* Carmichael Lectures (Lec. III, 1918) by Prof. Bhandarkar.

Rājā vilumpate raṭṭhaṃ Brāhmaṇo ca purohito
Attaguttā viharatha jātaṃ saraṇato bhayaṃ
—p. 513, III.

And, in the majority of cases, the people had the fullest satisfaction of seeing that their trust was not misplaced. Kingship was not a very enviable post and in consideration of the loyalty of his subjects the duties and responsibilities of a king became all the greater and more exacting.

The king was practically the head of the people forming the society around him and though beset with innumerable troubles that attended his person he was ever busy in finding out ways and means for the best mode of government in accordance with the laws laid down by his predecessors. It was for this reason that he not only took into his own hands the reins of his government but had to walk about in disguise among his people to ascertain their real grievances and needs.

Upassutiṃ mahārāja rāṭṭhe janapade cara
Tattha disvā ca sutvā ca tato taṃ paṭipajjāsī ti
—p. 100, V.

There is also evidence on record showing that a king, even in matrimonial matters relating to his family when he could with justice act arbitrarily without holding consultation with his ministers or any other member of the state, was unwilling to settle the question himself being inclined to follow the advice given by them.

Yāva āmantaye ñātī mittê ca suhadaṃ janaṃ
Anāmanta kataṃ kammaṃ taṃ pacchā-m-anutappati
—p. 266, VI.

'Wait, till I hold consultation with my friends, well-wishers and acquaintances for a deed done without any consultation begets remorse.'

Tribal government yielding monarchy and democracy.

In making a review of all that we have said before we would not err if we held that although the king was the final authority, the centre of government was the village, *i.e.*, the control of the entire machinery of government was ultimately

vested in the hands of the subjects. Their ideal man and guide was the king, want of virtues in whom foreboded his downfall and the inauguration of a new monarch but not of a different monarchy. The village people through their headmen carried on all the works of govenment themselves except that of the judiciary, after paying the king's servants a certain amount of tax either in coins or in the shape of agricultural produce that went to swell the royal treasury and the storehouse. Gāmanīs or the village heads who were very proficient in their respective arts supervised these works while keeping themselves in close touch with the king whose principal business was administration of justice in consultation with the ministers. The king actually sat in judgement over the numerous law suits that were brought to his palace serving as a court room, by his subjects. To perpetuate the deeds of piety the king also made proper endowments in the cause of religion, which might be taken to mean that he made provisions for the relief of the people whenever they were in distress. And, for the acquirement of virtue and eradication of sins—a great factor that made for the preservation of his throne—the king associated with the wise and the sages of the forest and himself practised the ten virtues as enumerated below, with the result that his entire kingdom remained peaceful, his queens pure, obedient and lovely, the ministers faithful and no calamity befell his subjects :

Dānaṃ sīlaṃ pariccâgaṃ
Ajjavaṃ maddavaṃ tapam
Akkodhaṃ avihimsañ ca
Khantiñ ca avirodhanaṃ
Icc-ete kusale dhamme
Thite passām' attani
Tato me jāyate pīti
Somanassañ ca anappakam
—p. 378, V.

This is the picture, though by no means complete, of a state in its original simplicity as depicted in the Jātakas.

Gradually, society became more heterogeneous and its needs more and more complex. With their growth, this simplest form of tribal government, replete with the best characteristics of democracy and monarchy, yielded under different circumstances these very two different types in the Buddhistic period. The great apathy of kings for worldly pleasures and love of renunciation at a certain age were perhaps the main cause of dissolution of the tribal government and the rise of democracy in certain states[1] while love of power and control of subordinates led to the establishment of typical monarchies in others.

In the time of Buddha the states of Kosala, Magadhā, Ujjeni, and Kosambi represented the monarchical type and the Sākyas, the Mallas, the Vejjians and a few others formed their own confederacies for carrying on the works of administration in their respective lands. We have in the 'Arthaśāstra' of Kautilya an elaborate scheme of the machinery of monarchical governments, while the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Pāli Buddhist canon contains the essentials of the republican government current in the confederacies after the manner of which the early Buddhist Saṃgha was built up.[2]

It so appears that the monarchical system as represented in the 'Arthaśāstra' practically ignored the 'gāmanīs' who were relegated to a very unimportant position of having to look over the properties of bereaved minors till they attained their age and perhaps they laboured under mistrust[3] while all the important functions of administration were taken over by the king himself who had them carried out by superintendents having nothing to do with village leadership. Already in the time of king Bimbisāra, the administration of justice which constituted the

1 'The Vejjian confederation must have been organised after the fall of the royal houses of Videha,'—Dr. Raychaudhuri's 'Political History of Ancient India.'

2 *Vide* 'Carmichael Lectures,' No. IV, Feb., 1918, and the author's 'Democracy in Early Buddhist Sangha' C.R Nov.-Dec., 1933, 'Success of Early Buddhist Sangha'—published by Jnan Belur Math, 4th June, 1929.

3 Arthaśāstra, Book II, Chap. I, § 48: also Bk. IV, Chap. XIII, § 232.

principal office of the throne had become a transferred subject entrusted to the care of judges called Vohārika-Mahāmatta appointed for the purpose. (Vinaya Mahā Vagga, Ch. I, § 40.) The republican system was, on the other hand, a government by the village elders or grāmanis under the lead of a chief generally called a rāja chosen from among themselves. It was thus over this vital issue, *viz.*, in the matter of administration of villages by 'grāmaṇīs,' that this ancient mode of government represented in the Jātakas bifurcated into two distinct types—monarchical and republican.

We now conclude our present discussion on pre-Buddhistic polity in so far as it is traceable in the Jātakas and in doing so we beg to tender a word of apology for this intrusion. In presenting these gleanings from the Jātakas the antiquity of which is above all controversy, it is not our object to write a work on ancient Indian polity—a subject which has been very ably tackled by such eminent scholars as Prof. Jayaswal, Prof. Bhandarkar, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Prof. R. C. Majumdar and others of international fame, but simply to place before the readers some of the conditions—social and political—of ancient India which proved helpful to the rise of Buddhism according to its own testimony—the Jātakas. How far the general notion, no doubt originated by interested parties, that Buddhism like a rebellious child was antagonistic to the environments it grew under, is acceptable can well be gauged from these gleanings. The Buddha certainly did not try to implant anything new; his doctrine of renunciation was actually being followed by thousands of people in their endeavour to go to heaven, his observance of equality of castes was already an established fact, his criterion of education was the current standard of society,[1] his federation was another form of the Gāmani government and his 'Nibbāna' served to offer relief to people who were bent on mutual destruction and groaning in the torpor of intoxication brought in by enjoyments of infinite variety.

1 *Vide* Jātaka Gleanings on Sociology.

RELIGION

(BHĀGAVATISM)

Jātakas the earliest stratum of Pāli literature and Buddhism.

We have so far discussed the various points in connection with ancient Indian sociology and polity keeping ourselves confined to the four corners of the Jātaka-verses which have undoubtedly laid bare many new features of these subjects and now we propose to take up an important aspect of early Buddhism as revealed in Jātakas which is 'Bhāgavatism' for discussion and hope that it will also unfold many points not ordinarily known or accepted. A Jātaka, as we have observed before, is a piece taken out from old "Akkhānas" in illustration of some particular viewpoint of early Buddhism, either the doctrine of 'Karma' or the practice of 'Sīlas.' The Jātakas again, consisting of the metrical portions only of the stories in the collection must be ranked first in the chronology of Pāli literature. This can be proved by a comparative study of the identical verses occurring in different texts and noting the improvements effected on them as they have become later. The presence in the Jātakas (*i.e.*, verses) of a large number of archaic words, uncouth grammatical expressions, dialectal forms, didactic style, etc., no longer found in subsequent literature, invariably points to their earlier antiquity.

We shall, therefore, try to trace next in these verses the predominance of Bhāgavatism in early Buddhism for which alone they are of especial importance to the study of Buddhism itself both in India and outside. It is a significant fact that all the Jātakas with some prose linking the verses together and supplying their context are put into the mouth of the Buddha. They, therefore, declare in one voice that the doctrine they uphold could be imparted by none other than Buddha himself. Even the best disciples of Buddha were not thought fit to speak the Jātakas. Why, we shall see

Jātakas primarily intended for laymen.

next. Decidedly, the Jātakas were originally not the exponents of 'Bodhisattaism.' They served as incentives to good deeds for the spell-bound audience of Buddha or of his disciples during their preaching tours. Later, they were associated with the Bodhisatta to prevent their falling into oblivion. Buddha's method of teaching was twofold: Firstly, he held before his audience the ideals of a household life[1] and secondly, if he found any one competent to receive higher spiritual teaching he would then speak on 'Nirvāṇa' which required for its realisation, renunciation of the world and strict observance of monastic rules.[2] The first lessons included topics on the attainment of heaven (saggakathā), on the observance of common precepts (sīlakathā), on the giving of alms (dānakathā), on the disadvantages of sensual life (kāmānaṃ okāraṃ ādinavaṃ etc.), and the second explained the advantages of a homeless life (nekkhamme ānisaṃsaṃ) centering round the excellent 'Middle Path' which he discovered under the Bo-Tree for leading mankind to enlightenment and Nirvāṇa (Yā Buddhānaṃ samukkaṃsikā dhammadesanā Majjhimā Paṭipadā, Ariyo Aṭṭhangiko Maggo, etc). The realisation of the second part of his teachings could only be attained by being a 'Bhikkhu' of his Order. The Jātakas, therefore, essentially dealing with 'saggakathā, 'sīlakathā', 'dānakathā' and the like must have been the chief sources of his doctrine intended for householders.

Jātakas are exponents of Bhagavatism

It must now be accepted that with the elimination of the Bodhisatta ideal from the Jātakas, the doctrine which their actual speaker or speakers wanted to bring home to their hearers, should have been that which is definitely in the verses culled out from the "Akkhānas." Unfortunately being looked upon as mere appendages to the prose of the stories which were so long considered as 'Jātakas,' they appeared merely ornamental to make the stories look old and

1 *Vide* Buddha's instructions to the householders of Pāṭaligāma in Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, Digha Nikāya, Vol. II. P.T.S.

2 *Vide* Conversion of Yasa in Vinaya Mahāvagga, § 8, Ch. I.

interesting. Taken in this light the later 'Jātakas' of diverse descriptions featuring the character of Bodhisatta differ from the original ones a good deal in meaning and form. Now, it will be found that these verses which originally constituted the real Jātakas reveal most wonderfully the elements of Bhāgavatism predominating over other aspects of early Buddhism and, as Pāli literature became later they became lesser and lesser. In other words, the earlier the text the stronger was the influence of Bhāgavatism on it (*vide* author's article in Bengali 'প্রাচীন বৌদ্ধধর্ম্মে ভাগবত-তত্ত্ব,' উদ্বোধন—বৈশাখ, জ্যৈষ্ঠ, ১৩৪৬ সাল).

The cause of this anomaly might be attributed to the fact that with the continual broadening of the spheres of education in the Buddhist Saṁgha it virtually became a stronghold for the diffusion of knowledge both secular and spiritual and ceased to lay much stress on the cult of devotion or Bhaktivāda—the key-note of Bhāgavatism. Jātakas forming part and parcel of old Akkhānas which expressed and illustrated the 'Sanātana Dharma' of the Indian people, we would not err if we held that the Doctrine of Buddha in so far as it relates to Jātakas, originated from this old Dharma. And, differing a good deal in meaning and form from the 'Dharmacakra' which the Buddha set in motion, they all had to be put into his mouth to be incorporated in Buddhism. This then explains why the authorship of all the Jātakas has been attributed to Buddha alone and why under his authorship their avowed purpose was completely changed later on from Bhāgavatism to Bodhisattaism, *i.e.*, instead of being moral stories meant directly for men they became stories illustrating the career of Bodhisatta. The prose commentary was thereafter regarded as Jātakas harping on the Bodhisatta ideal and the verses, which contain much that is pre-Buddhistic if not anti-Buddhistic, were thrown into the cold shade of neglect being dubbed as archaic and ornamental. Our present object is therefore to reveal the elements of Bhāgavatism existing in the original verse-Jātakas.

As in the Bhāgavata, so in the Jātakas, human life in its various aspects has been the main subject of treatment. They served to inculcate various morals on the development and perfection of which depended the spiritual uplift of the devotee after the lofty personality of the Teacher. In them renunciation of the world for the attainment of Nirvāṇa though referred to times without number, has practically been relegated to the background of the cult of devotion, the aim of which was mainly the attainment of heaven (sagga). It is really this phase of the Doctrine (vide Bhāgavata Purāṇa—Book VII, Chap. VI Sl. 25-28) which has been extolled in the Jātakas in peoples' adoration of the Buddha for salvation. The current beliefs and practices held fast by them had also to be accepted by the author or authors of these Jātakas in their desire to illustrate the morals mostly Bhāgavatic, in the early stage of Buddhism wherein Bodhisattaism was perfectly unknown and mainly to this was due the success of the rising religion. Truly, Buddhism became popular in India because, like Bhāgavatism, it sought to create and not to destroy the current modes of life and thoughts of people.

Early Buddhism bordered on Bhāgavatism.

Even, the ideal of Renunciation held aloft by the Teacher was not his own creation. We have already pointed out that in India the ideal religion was 'isihood' (recluse life) maintained in forests away from the haunts of men. The line of demarcation between the ideal of a householder and that of a recluse had already become well-established. While the spiritual goal of the former was 'sagga,' that of the latter was extinction of repeated births. In this regard Buddhism certainly cannot claim any originality of its own. In the Jātaka we find an ancient sage speaking :

Asaṃsayaṃ Jātikhayanta dassi
Na gabbhaseyyaṃ punar āvajissaṃ
Ayaṃ hi me antimā gabbhaseyyā
Khiṇo me saṃsāro na punabbhavāya
—III, p. 434.

"Most certainly I have found out the cause of the extinction of repeated births. I shall no more lie in the womb in future, the one I had must be my last. The round of repeated births is finished and I shall never be born again."

These recluses of the forest again prescribed the path of life for the householders as laid down in the Bhāgavata. The Buddha only followed the time-honoured religious practice when he chalked out different paths for householders and monks showing as he did the way to heaven to the former and extinction of suffering (of repeated births) by holding out 'Nirvāṇa' to the latter.

Bhāgavatism consists in taking refuge in such a sage who is considered Bhagavā being the personification of the highest human virtues combined with spiritual power to cure all maladies of the world. Men and women are saved immediately they accept him as their teacher and refuge and also serve him by all their acts and manners in life without having to renounce the world. (vide Bhāgavata Purāṇaṃ—Bk VIII. Ch. XVI).

Elements of Bhāgavatism.

We shall now quote a few extracts from Jātakas wherein Buddha is accepted as Bhagavā[1] and men and women who come to him for refuge are saved by his instruction wherein are included various other worships and practices though subordinated to his own. We shall now try to give a brief sketch of this Jātaka-Dharma in its several aspects as pointed out to the devotees.

(I) The custodian of Dharma is Indra who is immortal and unconquerable and well-disposed towards the observers of religious rites. An old lady disgusted with the ugly behaviour and rude manners of her kinsmen decides to observe the death ceremony (śrāddha) of Indra in the belief that he must be dead or otherwise the irreligious conditions could never have arisen. She comes to a crematory and is about to perform the obsequies, when Indra himself appears before her in disguise and asks her the reason of doing so. The lady replied :

1 For the place of Bhagavā in the Jātakas vide pp. 70, 71 *infra*.

"Na kho ayaṃ brāhmaṇa bhojanattha
Tilodano hohiti sādhu pasuto
Dhammo mato tassa bhahutamajjā
Ahaṃ karissāmi susāna majjhe 'ti
—III, p. 425.

'Oh, Brahman, this much *tila* and rice is certainly not meant for the feast of a brāhman. I have come to this crematorium to perform the death ceremony of the representative of Dharma who must be dead.' At this Indra assures the lady that the protector of Dharma, the god of immeasurable strength having one thousand eyes who is the best of all virtuous men, can never die :

Sahassanetto atulānubhāvo
Na miyyati dhamma-varo kadāci ti
—III, p. 426.

He then reveals himself and sets to undo the evil complained of by the lady. The 'Jātaka' thus stresses the fact that Dharma is never impotent for the very Indra comes to the rescue of the virtuous. The importance of *Śrāddha* ceremony is also established.

This conception of Indra is just Vedic and shows the nearness of relationship between the Vedic and the earlier Pāli literature. But he is next depicted as a strong upholder of Ahiṃsā quite in consonance with the descriptions given in the Bhāgavata Purānaṃ and also as a dutiful disciple of the Buddha to whom he often comes for advice and guidance. (*Vide* 'Development of Jātaka Vatthu' infra, pp. 72-79). Although a destroyer of his foes, the 'asuras,' he could say with equal vehemence :

Kāmam cajāma asuresu pānaṃ
Mā-y-ime dijā vikulavā ahesun ti

'I would rather sacrifice myself to the 'Asuras' than see these birds thrown down from their nests by my moving chariot'.' The worship thus really goes to the Buddha, the spiritual teacher of Indra. The type of Ahiṃsā is also outlined here : 'To fight one's enemy is not depricated. But the apostle of

Ahimsā is expected to be victorious in the battle against his enemies and merciful towards feeble creatures.

(2) Peoples' belief in 'Ātmā,' (soul theory) has not been sought to be undermined, for it (Attā) is the leading power that works through the senses. 'Attā' is the real author of all works. It moves the body and goads the senses restraining them by wisdom :

Rupe sadde rase gandhe vāhanassa padhāvato
Paññā ākoṭanī rāja tattha āttā va sārathi
—VI, p. 253.

'The pullers of the body in the shape of the chariot are : sounds, forms, tastes and smells. The wisdom here behaves as their reins and the charioteer holding the reins is the 'Attā'.'

It might be safely assumed that the 'Theory of Karma' which was the stepping-stone of early Buddhism could never have been understood by the people of ordinary intelligence without this belief in 'Attā'. The allied idea is also to be found in the Gītā in a rather developed form in Karma yoga, Ch. III, Sl. 42.

(3) Brahmā is alluded to as the creator of the universe and in this connection the efficacy of worshipping the sacrificial fire is also acknowledged :

Akari yo lokaṃ imaṃ parañ ca
Bhagirasiṃ Himavantaṃ ca gijjhaṃ
Yo iddhimā devavaro yassi
So 'pi tadá ādahi jātavedam.
—VI, p. 204.

'He, who created this world as well as the next, who also created the great Himalayas, the river, Bhāgirathī as well as this Gijjha (kuṭa) mountain, he being that excellent god possessed of miraculous power and fame, also worshipped the sacrificial fire.'

This is also a Vedic conception and has been very nicely worked upon in the 'Kevaddha Suttanta' of the 'Digha Nikāya'

in which we find the idea of Brahmā expressed in the following words: 'Tvam' si Brahmā, Mahā Brahmā, Abhibhu, Anabhibhuto, Aññadatthu-dāso, Vasavatti, Issaro, Kattā, Nimmātā, Seṭṭhi, Sañjitā, Vasī, Pitā bhūta bhavyānan 'ti.

But such an exalted personage acknowledges his defeat before the Buddha. The Jātaka however quite ignorant of the later 'suttanta' ascribes to him the authorship of universe as described in the Vedas and makes him a disciple of Buddha.

(4) Hindu pantheism emanating direct from the Vedic realisation: "That which exists is one sages call it by various names" (*Ekaṃ sad viprā bahudhā vadanti*) far from being rejected seems to have been included within the all-embracing bosom of early Buddhism. Salutation to Mother Ganges for restoration of lost relations and adoration of the sun for the protection of the body are also referred to in the Jātakas:

Vande Bhāgirathiṃ Gaṅgaṃ savantinam paṭiggaham
Rājaputtam apassanti tumhaṃ hi saranaṃ gatā
—V, p. 93.

'I salute the Bhāgīrathī Gaṅgā who is most compassionate among all the rivers. O Gaṅgā, I go to you for refuge for not finding the kings' son.' (*i.e.* the king her husband).

With regard to the worship of the sun the Jātaka has the following lines:

Udeti ayaṃ cakkumā ekarājā
Harissavaṇṇo paṭhavippabhāso
Taṃ taṃ namassāmi harissavannaṃ paṭhavippabhāsaṃ
Tay' ajja guttā viharemu divasaṃ
—II. p. 33.

'There rises the sun having the colour of flame, the sole monarch of the sky and the seer of everything. I bow unto thee who illuminates the earth; for, being guarded by thee I shall spend this day in safety.'

Cf. देवदेवं नमस्कृत्य प्रातरुत्थाय चार्जुन,
विघ्नाश्चनेकरूपाश्च नश्यन्ति स्मरणादपि।
—Āditya-Hṛdaya-Stotram.

(5) Even the worship of particular trees also finds mention in the Jātakas although they are not connected with the attainment of Bodhi either by Buddha or by any of his disciples. These trees were honoured with various kinds of offerings for success in life :

Dure suto c'eva brahā ca rukkho
Dese ṭhito bhutanivāsarupo
Tasmā namassāmi imaṃ palāsaṃ
Ye c' ettha bhutā te ca dhanassahetu ti

—III, p. 24.

'The great tree who is heard from afar, stands here giving shelter to many. I therefore bow unto him as also the beings who live therein, for wealth.' (Bhāgavata P., Bk. VIII, Ch. 4, Sl. 16-17).

(6) In times of trouble invocation was made to powerful deities of the earth such as the Nāgas, the Yakkhas, the Gaḷuras with a view to propitiating them by kindly thoughts for allaying troubles—a course of action also enjoined in the Bhāgavata :

Virupakkhehi me mettaṃ
Mettaṃ Erāpathehi me
Chabbyaputtehi me mettaṃ
Kaṇhagotamakehi ca ti
Apādakehi me mettaṃ
Mettam dipādehi me
Catuppadehi me mettaṃ
Mettaṃ bahuppadehi me ti

—II, pp. 145-46.

In these lines practically all beings, human and inhuman, have been invoked to be friendly with the supplicant. This sending out of kindly thoughts to all the beings forms part of 'mettibhāvanā' in Buddhism and is in perfect accord with Bhāgavatism.

(7) With great emphasis the Jātakas stress the fact that there is the next world, that there are also the gods and the

ancestors but men lost in the enjoyment of pleasures of the world never understand this :

Atth' eva devā pitaro ca atthi
Loko paro atthi jano yam āhu
Kāmesu giddhā na narapumū|hā
Lokaṃ paraṃ na vidu mohayuttā
—VI, p. 245.

Early Buddhism certainly stood on the bedrock of reverence for and faith in all those beliefs that existed in the past without which purity of the mind and body could not be achieved. We can verily understand that there was no great gulf of difference between the Doctrine of Buddha and the Sanātana Dharma of India from which it rose. The Purāṇas in their present shape are only the later versions of this ancient Dharma.

(8) The belief in the efficacy of 'mantras' when uttered by a religious teacher to dispel dejection and fear from the mind of his devotee, is also acknowledged in certain stories :

Dibbaṃ pātukari mantam kāmasā bhagavā mamaṃ
Svāhaṃ mante paratthaddhonāhaṃ bhāyāmi bhogīnaṃ
—IV, pp. 181-82.

'My Bhagavā' (Teacher) divulged at my desire his powerful 'mantra' and being protected by it I do no more fear the serpents.' On the basis of this arose later on in Buddhist scriptures 'parittaṃ' or charms to drive out ghosts said to have been uttered by Buddha himself.

(9) The usefulness of 'Yaññas' also seems to be at the same time not lost sight of, as can be gathered from the following lines :

Mahā yaññaṃ yajitvāna evaṃ sujjhanti brāhmaṇā
Mahā yaññaṃ yajissāma evaṃ mokkhāma pāpakā
—VI, p. 183.

'Brahmins are purified by performing sacrifices; therefore we shall also be free from sin by doing the same thing.' The idea of going to heaven by celebrating 'yajñas' was also entertained in the Jātakas :

So somayāgena malaṃ vihantvā
Subhoga devaññataro ahosi [1]
—VI, p. 204.

'He became a god by purifying himself through the performance of 'Soma' sacrifice and possessed a big fortune'. Of course, those yajñas in which animals were slaughtered, are not contemplated here.

(10) Such examples might be quoted by legion from the Jātaka verses in support of our contention that popular Buddhism was based on the modes of worship and beliefs current in the days of Buddha as were sanctioned by the doctrine inculcated in the Bhāgavata. But apart from these modes of worship which were rejected later on there were several virtues which were specially stressed in Buddhism and Bhāgavatism and became permanent features of the former. The principal ones by which a householder could go to heaven consisted in almsgiving, abstaining from taking life, rendering service to parents and by making oneself a source of blessing to others :

Sutaṃ me taṃ arahatam saññatānaṃ tapassīnaṃ
Idha dānāni datvāna Saggaṃ gacchanti dāyakā.
—VI, p. 194.

'I have heard this from Arahats who are self-controlled and given to exertion that those who give alms to the beggars go to heaven'. Then again :

[1] Jñānayajñena cāpyanto'yajante māmupāsate |
Ekatvena pṛthaktvena bahudhā viśvatomukham || 15
Aham kraturaham yajñaḥ svadhā'hamahamauṣadham |
Mantro'hamebājya mahamagnirahaṃ hutaṃ || 16
—Gītā, IX, 15-16.

Pāṇātipātā viratassa brumi
Abhayañ ca yo sabbabhūtesu deti
Diṭṭheva dhamme labhate pasaṃsaṃ
Saggañ ca so yāti sarīrabhedā.—IV, p. 338.

'He, who abstains from taking life and becomes no source of danger to any one that lives, obtains praise in this world and goes to heaven after death. The householder must be free from lust and hatred and should cultivate kindly thoughts to an immeasurable degree for going to 'Brahmaloka' :'

Sa vitarāgo pavineyya dosaṃ
Mettaṃ cittaṃ bhāvaye appamānaṃ
Sabbesu bhūtesu nidhāya daṇḍaṃ
Anindito Brahmaṃ upeti ṭhānam.—V, p. 148.

'Brahmaloka' was the highest heaven according to popular conception and its attainment was synonymous with living along with the Creator (Brahmā), which constituted the highest condition of existence one could think of in the days of Buddha. Rendering service unto parents was again considered equivalent to the worship of Brahmā through which wise men acquired fame in this world and rejoiced in heaven in the next :

Brahmā hi mātāpitaro pubbacariyā ti vuccare
Tāya nam paricariyāya mātāpitūsu paṇḍitā
Idha c'eva pasaṃsanti pecca sagge ca modati.—V, p. 331.

also *vide* gāthās, 144-46, p. 325.

'The parents are the premier ācariyas of mankind, even like the Brahmā. Through the service rendered unto them the wise receive fame in this world and rejoice in the next.'

The doctrine as set forth in the Jātakas holds out for the most part the prospect of the attainment of heaven which was practically the *summum bonum* of householders and was undoubtedly pre-Buddhistic in origin. The Buddha also recognised it with certain modifications. The verses we have quoted had all prose stories (atthuppatti) behind them giving the occasion under which they were uttered by the Buddha and some of the

details of the story not contained in the Jātakas. If any modification of original doctrine was intended it was duly mentioned in the prose which remained mostly implicit rather than explicit. But we have reason to believe that no major change was made from the main implication of these verses. The worship of gods, goddesses, trees, temples, monasteries, etc., was generally adhered to by people and was only subordinated to that of Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. In the Dhammapada of a much later period, we find :

Bahuṃ ve saranaṃ yanti pabbatāni vanāni ca
Ārāma rukkha-cetyāni manussā bhayatajjitā
Na etaṃ saraṇaṃ khemaṃ na etaṃ saraṇaṃ uttamaṃ
Na etaṃ saraṇaṃ āgamma sabba-dukkhā pamuccati.

—Dham. gāthās, 188-89.

'Many people go to mountains, forests, monasteries, trees, temples for refuge being oppressed by terror. But these refuges are not safe, neither people are freed from all sufferings while seeking protection from them'. Though this is a later version of the Doctrine wherein Bhāgavatism was fading away, still it was referring to the earlier practices of the devotees. In the next place the Dhammapada lays down that those who take refuge with the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha are ultimately relieved of all suffering :

Yo ca Buddhañ ca Dhammañ ca Saṅghañ ca saraṇaṃ gato
Cattāri ariya saccāni sammappaññāya passati
Dukkhaṃ Dukkhasumuppādaṃ Dukkhassa ca atikkamaṃ
Ariyaṭṭhaṅgiko maggo dukhupasamagāminaṃ
Etaṃ kho saraṇaṃ khemaṃ etaṃ saraṇam uttamaṃ
Etaṃ saranam āgamma sabbadukkhā pamuccati.

—Dham. gāthās, 190-91.

But again, this doctrine was not intended for laymen but for monks the idea of refuge notwithstanding remaining Bhāgavatic.

In the Bhāgavata worship of the chosen Ideal is advocated and along with it worship of other deities to which one might be accustomed, is also recommended (*vide* Bhāgavata Purāṇa,

Book VIII, Ch. 4, Slks. 16-26). The teacher who is recognised as Bhagavān in the Bhāgavata is only to be accorded the highest place in the worship of the long list of deities that might also claim homage from the disciple. Perfectly in consonance with this ideal the Jātakas hold up the ideal of Buddha for supreme worship in the midst of all these divergent modes of worship and beliefs. Of course, with the Buddha,* Bodhi, *i.e.*, his knowledge and the seven Buddhas are also mentioned :

Nam' atth' Buddhānam Nam' atth' Bodhiyā
Namo Vimuttānaṃ Namo Vimuttiyā
So' ham namo Bhagavato
Namo Sattannam Sammā Sambuddhānam—II, p. 34.

In this connection salutation was also paid to the Brahmans who knew the Vedas and were versed in the lore of all religious ceremonies :

Ye brāhmaṇā vedagu sabbadhamme
Te me namo te ca mam pālayantu—II, p. 34.

'I salute all the Brahmans who have learnt the Vedas and are skilful in all the branches of religion. Let them also protect me.'

The devotee in the Jātakas in the manner of the devotee of the Bhāgavata cherished the belief that the fortune which he cannot obtain by his own endeavour will accrue to him by a mere wish of the great Teacher who has been rightly designated as 'Varo varaññu varado varāharo' in the suttas.[1]

The lordly mansions of heaven belong to those who have faithfully carried out the mandates of the Buddha :

Saddhāyā suniviṭṭhāya Saddhamme suppavedite
Akaṃsu satthu vacanaṃ Sammāsambuddha-vacanaṃ
Tesam etāni ṭhānāni Yāni tvaṃ rāja passasī ti—VI. 124.

[1] The doctrine of devotion also occurs in another form, where almost in the words of the Bhagavad Gītā, Goutama is made to say that those who have not yet even entered the Paths 'are sure of heaven if they have love and faith towards Me.'

—Buddha and Gospel of Buddhism by Coomārswāmi, p 224.

Evaṃ svākkhāto bhikkhave mayā dhammo uttāno vivaṭo pakāsito chinnapilotiko, evaṃ svākkhāte bhikkhave mayā dhamme uttāne vivaṭe pakāsite chinnapilotike yesaṃ mayi saddhāmattaṃ pemamattaṃ sabbe te saggaparāyanā ti.

—"Majjhima Nikāya", Allagaddūpamasuttaṃ, 22.

In the extracts from the Jātakas we have just quoted, we believe we have set forth the crux of the Jātaka doctrine in perfect agreement with Bhāgavatism. At least we have before us that phase of Bhāgavatism which includes different modes of worship and aims at the attainment of heaven by setting at nought the evil effect of bad karma in the past through devotion to Bhagavā and good deeds done in his service. In fact, all the Jātaka verses read separately from the prose commentary will be found to breathe the spirit of the Purāṇas (*vide* Nariman's 'History of Sanskrit Buddhism,' p. 16).

Bhāgavatism in sculpture.

Now, with a view to learning the practical application of this Jātaka doctrine it will be interesting to note how far these modes of worship and activities found expression in art and architecture of ancient India, especially in the stupas of Bhārhut and Sānchi. Although, it is impossible to make a comprehensive picture of the story as outlined in the entire scheme of the Bhārhut Stūpa having only fragmentary materials at our disposal, we can nevertheless gather a rough idea of the whole. Towards the conclusion of the "Significance of Jātakas" we have hinted that each of the four quadrants into which the whole railing was divided contained a story replete with 'paccuppannavatthu,' 'atītavatthu,' 'gāthā' and 'samodhāna' the parts which subsequently constituted a full-fledged Jātaka. And again, when it is found on closer examination that the four quadrants do not contain any duplication of scenes which are merely complementary to one another, the conclusion is irresistible that originally one big story was formulated giving the life-sketch of the Teacher, his Jātaka doctrine and its effect on the devotees. This was then divided into four parts and was sculptured on the four railings with a definite idea and not aimlessly. What we mean is this that the sculptures should not only be studied individually, each on its own merit but collectively to show their bearing on the main stupa in the centre. They must be studied in the order in

which they have been excavated from the ground.[1] Dr. B. M. Barua, the giant among scholars, has very exhaustively dealt with them in his monumental work. 'Bhārhut' in three volumes. The finest facsimiles of these Jātaka-scenes have been supplied in the 3rd Vol. Even a cursory view at these pictures of the sculpture will convince anyone of the correctness of the interpretation we have put on the religious feelings of the stūpa's donors, artists and labourers in this paper (*vide* Dr. Barua's Bhārhut Aspects of Life and Art, Vol. 3, pp. 52-58).

Amidst all the Bhārhut-scenes of men, women, kings, gods, goddesses, angels, etc., one would like to see the scene where Buddha is acknowledged as the saviour of those who took refuge with him as this is the central idea of Bhāgavata round which every other form of worship turns. We think we can count upon the scenes of 'Tikotika cakama (Bhārhut scene 83) and 'Vasuguto Māchito Mahādevānaṃ' (Bhārhut-scene 85) of Bharhut Stūpa as most expressive of this central idea. In the former the elephant king was rescued from the jaws of the crocodile by his taking refuge with the Bhagavān and in the latter the merchants were safely brought back to the shore by their fervent prayers centred on Buddha when they were being swallowed by the great leviathan of the sea. Worship of the Puranic goddesses Gaṅgā, Śrī, Hrī and of gods Śakra, Brahmā, Kuvera, Varuṇa, Yama and others is also visible in the sculptures of Bharhut. The terrible-looking Yakkhas and Nāgas turned into the gentlest of gentle beings by the touch of Buddha bear also the stamp of Bhāgavatism on them.

In conclusion, we should like to add a note on the emblem of Buddha or Dhamma or Saṅgha found in the sculptures intended for worship. This is the figure which is generally known as the sun and the moon symbol. We must bear in mind that the Buddha was not as yet worshipped in human figures but in symbols.

[1] The Mahā Samaya Suttanta of Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. II, P.T.S. very appropriately brings out the religious purpose of such a congregation of Devas, Nāgas, Yakkhas, etc. gathering round the Buddha

The multifarious modes of worship based on Bhāgavatism eventually produced the worship of 'Triratna' or Trinity consisting of Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha in Buddhism, perhaps after the pattern of the Hindu Triads : Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva. In the sculptures there constantly occurs an emblem consisting of the combined figures of a crescent and a disc standing on a pulpit and having on the top a decorated dome as given in figure No. 2. on page 174.

Fa Hien called this symbol an ox's head[1] and Pasenadi, king of Kosala, worshipped this emblem[2] of Buddha when the latter went to heaven to teach his mother Māyādevī his Dhamma. These figures of disc and crescent and the dome taken together have been interpreted as the combined representation of Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. Though not yet properly explained we think it means this : The circle represents the Buddha, the crescent the Dhamma and the dome the Saṅgha. Thus, on the Buddha rests the Dhamma and on the Dhamma the Saṅgha, or it may also mean just the opposite. The combined figure was then placed on an altar for worship of the Buddhist Trinity : Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. But such a joint figure of a circle, a crescent and a dome forming the so-called Trinity or Triratna sometime occurs singly, sometimes in duplicates and sometimes in triplicates. General Cunningham and other scholars opine that this is nothing but repetition of the 'Trinity' symbols made for the sake of ornamentation. Dr. Barua in his Bhārhut Book II Jātaka scenes p. 6, lines 5-7 under the scene "Sakamuniṇo Bodho' (Plate XXXVII Scene 32) where we have two such symbols on both sides of the Bo-Tree representing enlightenment of Sākyamuni, observes : "The tree itself is ornamented with two Triratna symbols (*vide* fig. 3) that stand majestically on two sides behind the throne and surmounting it".

[1] Prasenajit longing to see the Buddha caused an image of him to be carved as 'Go-sirsha' in chandana wood—Travels of Fā Hien—Legge, p. 57 also Maisey's 'Sanchi and its Remains.'

[2] 'Travels of Fa Hien'—Legge, p. 37.

General Maisey describes it as the disc and the crescent symbol representing from very early times the sun and the moon which when combined produced the elements: earth, water, fire, air and ether. This joint symbol was so very popular that practically everywhere in the sculptures it could be found. There can be no doubt that like 'Swastika' it was also considered very auspicious.

The question now arises as to whether or not this joint symbol of the sun and the moon or of the three figures, a circle, a crescent and a dome combined together could really represent the Buddhist Triratna, *viz.*, Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. Triratna is also called Trikāya and each member Buddha or Dhamma or Sangha is a 'Kāya' according to Buddhism.[1] The 'Kāya' is again made up of four elements—earth, water, fire and air, (the ether was not accepted in early Buddhism) which are said to be produced by the conjunction of the sun and the moon. (Atthi imasmim kāye (1) Paṭhavi dhātu, (2) Āpodhātu, (3) Tejodhātu, (4) Vāyodhātu—Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna suttanta). It is highly improbable that 'Trikāya' or 'Triratna' would be huddled together to be represented by the emblem of a combined figure. A 'Kāya' itself is the result of combination of earth, water, fire and air and the emblem of combination can only represent one 'Kāya' and not two, much less three. It can stand either for Buddha or Dhamma or Saṅgha and never for all the three together. Therefore whether one calls the symbol 'the sun and the moon figure' or that of 'earth, water, fire and air' there is only one possibility of its representing one Kāya and not more.

In ancient Greece from the time of Pythagoras (472-444 B.C.) it will be found (*vide* 'Sotoba' from a Japanese Buddhist picture of Mount Sumeru.—J. R. A. S., Oct., 1919) that these elements: earth, water, fire, air, probably ether also, were represented by definite geometrical figures.[2] The earth was

[1] *Vide* 'Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism', p. 102.—Dr. N. Dutt.

[2] Actual terminology from solid geometry herein used are: (1) a *cube* for earth, (2) an *icosahedron* for water, (3) a *tetrahedron* for fire and (4) an *octohedron* for air and for space (5) a *dodecahedron*. We have used only simpler terms of plane geometry.

represented by a parallelogram, the water by a circle, the fire by a triangle and the air by the crescent or segment of a circle, so that the combination of all these geometrical figures would look something like figure No. 1. And, that will mean combination of earth, water, fire, and air or in other words, a 'Kāya.' Now if we examine carefully the so-called 'disc and the crescent' symbol or the so-called 'Tri ratna' symbol of the Bharhut Stūpa (fig. 3) we will invariably find the presence of all the geometrical figures, *viz* , of a parallelogram, a circle, a triangle and a segment of a circle in it and if this symbol be traced to very ancient Harappa or to Greek origin which was responsible for introducing the Buddha icon in Arts later on, we shall never hestitate to look upon each of these emblems of earth, water, fire and

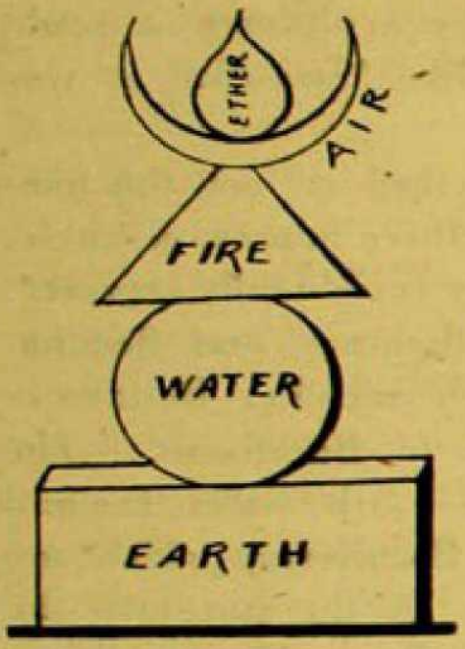


FIG. 1.
Pythagorian conception of Kāya
(422-444 B.C.) [1]

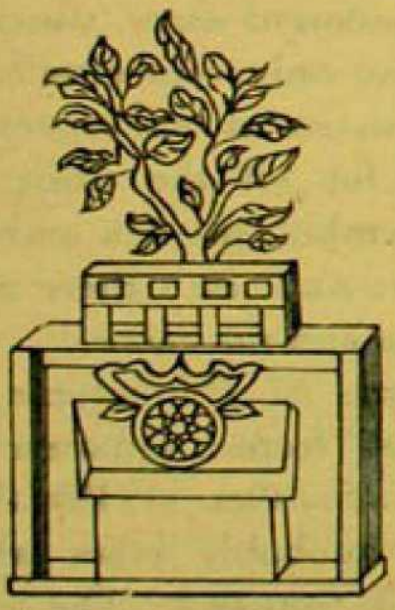


FIG. 2. Found in Sāñchī Stūpa
(1st century A.D.)

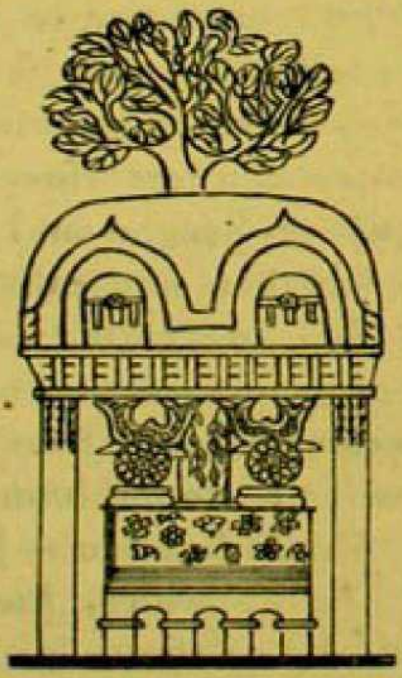


FIG 3 Found in Bhārhut Stūpa
(1st century B.C.)

[1] These sections from top to bottom represented later on (1) Mahāvairocana, (2 Akṣobhya, (3) Ratnasambhava, (4) Amitābha and (5) Amoghasiddhi who were known as Dhyānī Buddhas coming out of Ādi Buddha in Māhāyānism.

air as one Kāya being intended either for Buddha or Dhamma or Saṅgha.[1] Where there is one such figure as in fig. 2. in the sculptures (Eastern Gateway Sāñchī Stūpa, left pillar, front face, 3rd compartment from bottom) we shall call it representation of Buddha where there are two as in fig. 3. they are representations of Buddha and Dhamma (Bhārhut Stūpa) and where they are three as in fig. 4. they represent Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha (Sāñchī Stūpa, S. Gateway Pillar, top compartment, front face). Corresponding to these single, duplicate and triplicate 'Kāya' emblems we have in Pāli literature three types of disciples. The first type consisted of devotees who looked upon the Buddha only as their saviour; for example we find Dhaniya Gopa taking refuge with Buddha only in the following words :

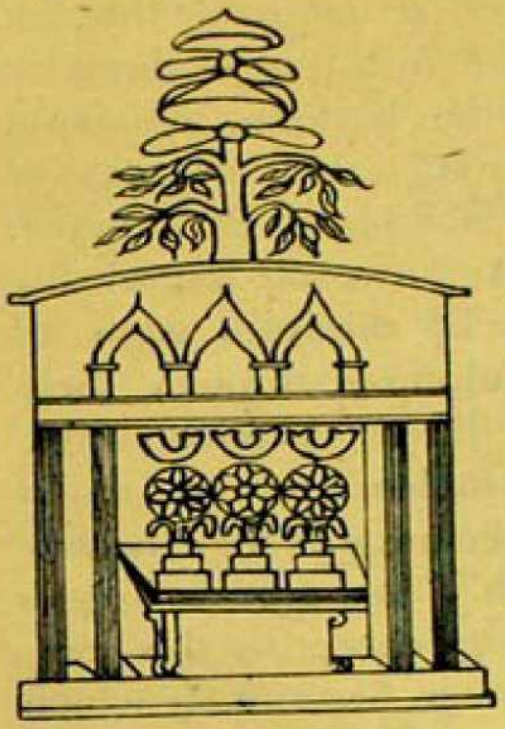


FIG. 4.
Found in Sāñchī Stūpa
(1st century A.D.)

"Lābhā vata no anappakā ye mayam bhagavantaṃ addasāma
Saraṇam taṃ upema cakkhumā Satthā no hohi tvaṃ mahāmuni."
—Sutta Nipāta.

'Great has been our gain since we have seen the Blessed One. O mighty Seer of all, we go to Thee for refuge. Thou, the Great Sage, be our Teacher and Lord.'

The Brahmans too took refuge with Buddha and not with his Dhamma and Saṅgha (*vide* Aṅguttara N. III, Brāhmaṇa

[1] The combined Greek geometrical representation of earth, water, fire and air looks very like an Indian pitcher known as 'Kumbha' placed on a 'Vedikā.' The Jātakas and the Dhammapada refer to it (1) as an object of worship and (2) as a 'kāya' respectively: 'Kumbham pañjalim kariyā' J., Vol. VI, p. 208. and 'Kumbhūpamaṃ kāyaṃ imaṃ viditvā' Dham. gāthā 40. Worship of the 'Kumbha' which is still in vogue, was a particular form of Vedic worship. Did Greece borrow the idea of 'Kāya' from that of the Indian Kumbha?

Vagga). The second type who were chiefly the gods, the Nāgas, the Yakkhas, etc., took refuge with the Buddha and the Dhamma only.[1] Tapussa and Bhallika are said to have taken refuge with Buddha and Dhamma only. The third type of disciples who took refuge with the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha constituting the Triratna or Trikāya, were all the Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, Upāsakas and Upāsikas. It is not improbable that these three types of disciples were all represented on the sculptures through these emblems exhibited in three different ways. And now about the emblem itself we might say that no better representation of the Absolute whether of Buddha or Dhamma or Saṅgha could be produced in art except by this combined figure of earth, water, fire and air which conveys best the conception of the Infinite in terms of the finite. An ornamental presentation of this will be found in fig. 5.[2]

FIG. 5.

Ornamental presentation of Kāya found in Sāñchi Stūpa (1st century A.D.)

How solemnly the worship of this emblem was conducted in the 5th century A. D. will appear from Fā-Hien's account of the same which took place at Nagāra, present Hidda, west of Peshawar and 5 miles to the south of Jellalabad. It runs thus: "Going west for sixteen yojanas he came to the city He-lo in the borders of the country of Nagāra where there is *the flat-bone of Buddha's Skull*, deposited in a Vihāra adorned all over with gold-leaf and the seven sacred substances. The king of the country, revering and honouring the bone and anxious lest it should be stolen away, has selected

1 Modanti vata bho devā Tāvatimsā sahindakā
Tathāgatam namassantā dhammassa ca sudhammatam
—Mahā Govinda Suttantam.

2 *Cf.* Bhūmirāpo'nalo vāyuḥ kham mano buddhireva ca
Ahaṁkāra itīyam me bhinnā prakṛtiraṣṭadhā ||
—Gītā, VII, 4.

eight individuals, representing the great families in the kingdom and committed to each a seal with which he should seal (its shrine) and guard (the relic). At early dawn these eight men come, and after each has inspected his seal, they open the door. This done they wash their hands with scented water and bring out the bone which they place outside a vihāra *on a lofty platform* where it is supported on *a round pedestal* of seven precious substances and *covered with a bell* of lapies lazuli, both adorned with rows of pearls. Its colour is of a yellowish white and *it forms an imperfect circle* twelve inches round *curving upwards to the centre.* Every day after it has been brought forth, the keeper ascend a high gallery, where they beat great drums, blow conches and clash with their copper cymbals. When the king hears them he goes to the Vihāra and makes his offerings of flowers and incense."—Travels of Fā-Hien, Legge, pp. 30-37 (*vide* Fig. 6. in the illustration).

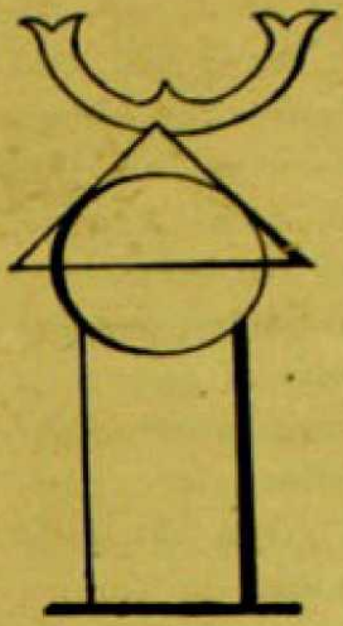


FIG. 6.
As related by Fā Hien.
(In 5th century A.D.)

The mention of the flat bone of Buddha's skull forming an imperfect circle, its curving upwards to the centre, and of its being on a covering bell supported on a round pedestal standing on a lofty platform, leaves no doubt as to the presence of the Buddha Kāya we are discussing here. That this 'disc and crescent' emblem really represented one 'Kāya' will be further evident from the fact that its constituent parts represented later on each a Dhyānī Buddha forming with the whole an 'Ādi Buddha' in the 10th Century A.D. as shown in the sections of Fig. 1 (Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 206). Again, 'Foot-print' in the sculpture was another emblem representing the presence of Buddha intended for worship and this seems to be more Bhāgavatic in character. The sculpture representing the descent of Bhagavā ('Bhagavato ūkranti' of Bhārhut)

should be studied from Bhāgavatic• and not Bodhisatta standpoint.[1]

The very close association of the Vedic or Puranic gods with the Buddha and his associates in ancient Buddhist Art and Architecture in India and abroad can only be explained and understood in the light that originally Buddhism drew upon the sources of Hinduism for its growth and popularity and that it was not due to the predominance of either of them at some period or other. Any feeling of rivalry or jealousy between them was completely absent. The ideals of both the religions which were harmoniously blended were identical, only the modes of approach were different. Hinduism or rather Brāhmanism stressed the ritualistic side while the doctrine of Śākyamuni was more concerned with the spiritual aspect of the ancient 'Ārya Sanātana Dharma' of India. Fundamentally they were one and the same.[2]

Leaving the task of tracing the origin of the great Triads of Puri (Jagannātha, Subhadrā and Balarāma) in the greatest seat of practical Bhāgavatism to this ancient Buddhist symbol (*vide* Maisey's 'Sāñchī and its Remains,' Plate, XXXIX), in the hands of would-be scholars, we conclude our remarks on Bhāgavatism in Jātakas.[3]

[1] *Vide* foot-note on p. 64 infra for Dr. Barua's comment and author's remarks on it on pp. 12, 13, infra.

[2] Dr. Coomarswami also comes to the same conclusion after comparing Buddhism with Brāhmanism from a different standpoint. "In all essentials," says he, "Buddhism and Brāhmanism form a single system."—'Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism', p. 231.

[3] In the Bengali work 'মন্দিরের কথা' প্রথম খণ্ড (Three Temples) by Sri Gooroodas Sarkar, M.A., B.Sc., many authorities in explanation of these emblems have been cited but they are inconclusive and merely suggestive.

INDEX

Ādi Buddha, 174n, 177
Āgama Piṭaka, 60
Aggañña Suttanta, 56, 100
Ahiṃsā, doctrine of, 69ff., 161-62
Akālarāvi Kukkuṭa Jātaka, 42
Akitti sage, 98
Akkhānas, 67 ff., 94, 157-58
Alaṃbhusā, heavenly damsel, 77
Alaṃbhusā Jātaka, 49
Alinacitta Jātaka, 39
Amarādevī, queen, 3
Aṃgāti, King of Videha, 133
Ancient India, Caste system in, 96, 100ff.; information in Jātakas regarding, 94ff.
Ancient Indian sculpture, Jātakas as represented in, 91ff., 170-78
Aṇḍabhūta Jātaka, 16
Aṅga, country, 127-28
Aṅgirasa, sage, 98
Aṅguttara Nikāya, 47, 50ff.
Anomadassi Buddha, 3
Apadāna, 57
Apaṇṇaka Jātaka, 2, 12, 49, 58, 106
Apsaras, 20
Arahats, 39
Army, 142
Art, representation of Trinity symbols in, 174ff.
Arthaśāstra, 154
Ārya Sanātana Dharma, 127, 158, 165, 178
Aśoka, emperor, 19, 149
Assaka, country, 127-28
Asuras, 97
Aśvaghoṣa, 71
Attā, belief in, 162
Atthadassi, thera, 85
Avadāna, 17, 48-49
Avanti, country, 127-28
Avocation, 106-7

Babbu Jātaka, 42
Bahubhāṇi Jātaka, 40, 44
Bankers, as King's servants, 135-36
Barua, B. M., 20n, 23ff., 171ff., 177n
Benares, 128, 137
Bhagavā, 9, 13; meaning of, 90; Jātaka description of, 70-71, 160
Bhagavadgītā, 62, 162, 166n, 176n.
Bhagavān Sākyamuni, 13
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 20ff., 65, 72ff., 159ff.
Bhāgavatism, Jātaka doctrine agrees with, 156-178
Bhāgirathī Gaṅgā, 115, 162-63
Bhandarkar, D. R., 155
Bharata, sage, 198
Bharhut Stūpa, Jātaka sculptures in, 1ff., 45, 64, 67, 92, 150, 170ff.; 'Tikoṭika Cakama' of, 20-25, 65; Triratna symbol of, 174ff.
Bharukaccha, 106
Bhisaharaṇa Jātaka, 16
Biḍāla-Kukkuṭa Jātaka, 16, 111
Bimbisāra, King of Magadha, 141
Bodhi, attainment of, 55-56, 164
Bodhisatta, birth of, 63n; birth-stories of, 2ff.; definition of, 1ff.; idea of, 47ff.
Bodhisattaism, 44, 47-48, 94, 157, 159
Bodhisatta Jātaka, 37
Bo-tree, 157, 172
Brahmā 96, 100, 162-63, 167
Brahmaloka, 51ff., 98, 167
Brāhmaṇas, 79, 96, 100ff.
Bṛhat Jātaka, 35
Buddha (Gotama), 1ff., 47-48, 50, 63ff., 70-71, 155ff., as Bhagavā, 13, 48, 50, 70ff., 100; attributes of, 5
Buddhadeva, monk, 85
Buddhaghosa, Commentator, 27n, 61ff., 68, 81-82
Buddhahood, evolution of, 26
Buddhalogy, 94-95
Buddhamitta, teacher, 85
Buddhas (previous), 3, 6, 8, 12-13, 26
Buddhavacana, types of, 60
Buddhavaṃsa, 3, 5, 8, 11, 14, 26, 37, 85
Buddhism, 155ff.; Bhāgavatic aspect of, 22-23; Mettibhāvnā in, 164; morals of, 4; rise of, 155

Buddhist Saṃgha, 154, 158, 168
Buddhist Trinity, 168; emblem of, 171ff.
Bühler, 126

Campeyya Jātaka, 81
Caṇḍālas, 105ff.
Cariya Piṭaka, 5-6, 8, 14, 17, 37, 44, 55,-56, 84 85, 92-93, 95
Cariya Piṭaka Commentary, 85-86
Caste system, 96, 100
Ceylon, 72, 86, 89
Chaddanta Jātaka, 16, 86-87
Chāraṇas, 20
Citta-Sambhutta Jātaka, 81
Coins, 143
Commensality, not restricted by caste, 120ff.
Coomaraswami, A. K., 169n, 178n
Culladhanuggaha Jātaka, 42
Culla Niddesa, number of Jātakas according to, 36, 56-57, 68
Cullaseṭṭhi Jātaka, 42
Cullasuka Jātaka, 50
Cunningham, G., 25, 172

Dabbapuppha Jātaka, 17
Dasa-Brāhmaṇa Jātaka, 103
Dasaṇṇaka, country, 127
Dasaratha Jātaka, 108-9
Devadatta, 3, 37, 39ff.
Devadhamma Jātaka, 43
Devotion, cult of, 158ff.
Dhammādāsa, explanation of, 11
Dhamma Jātaka, 49
Dhammapada, morals of, 27,168
Dhammapada Commentary, 27, 43; authorship of, 27; Jātakas in, 27ff.,38ff., 72ff.
Dhammapāla, Commentator, 85, 86
Dhanañjaya, king, 104, 133-34
Dhaniya Gopa, householder, 175
Dharma, 106-61
Dharmacakra, 158
Dhyānī-Buddhas, 174n, 177
Dīgha Nikāya, 47, 50, 57-58, 83, 162-63; Litta Jātaka mentioned in, 59
Dīgha Nikāya Commentary, 67-68
Dighiti Kosala Jātaka, 58
Dipaṃkara Buddha, 11
Dīpavaṃsa, 60
Dubbhiya-Makkaṭa Jātaka, 16
Duggatagahapati Jātaka, 43

Early Buddhism, Bhāgavatism and, 159ff.; worship in, 18 19
Espionage, made of, 144

Fa Hien, 172, 176-77
Fick, Prof., 126
First Council, account of, 60
Franke, R. O., 64
Friendship, 117ff.

Gāmaṇi, village headman, 138ff., 154-55
Gāmaṇi Jātaka, 49
Gandhāra, 126ff.
Gandharvas, 24
Gaṅgāpūjā, 115n
Garuḷa Jātaka, 40
Garuḷas, 164
Gijjha Jātaka, 81
Giridanta Jātaka, 49
God, doctrine of, 70, 84
Godharājā Jātaka, 42
Gotama Buddha, 1ff., 37, 47-48, 50, 63ff.
Government, forms of, 132ff., 154
Govinda, father of Jotipāla, 57
Goyāniya, country, 127
Granary, Treasury and, 142-43
Guilds, 106

Haṃsa Jātaka, 17
Hatthināga Jātaka, 43
Hatthipāla Jātaka, 57, 81
Heaven, attainment of, 70n, 166-67
Himalayas, 126
Hīnayāna, Bodhisatta Conception in, 13
Human sacrifice, 135

Incarnation, doctrine of, 64n
Indra, king of gods 51, 72-73, 76ff., 96-97, 115, 131, 135; as custodian of Dharma, 160-61
Isihood, 97
Isis, sages, progenitors ofsocial rules, 98ff.
Isisiṃgiya, the horned sage, 49

Janapada, meaning of, 130, 130n
Jātaka, meaning of, 1ff, 35, 60ff.
Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā, 2, 8, 9, 14, 27-28, 33-34, 36, 67, 72ff.; stories in Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā compared with those of, 38-45, 47ff..65
Jātaka-Bhānaka, 4
Jātaka-doctrine, 160ff.

Jātaka literature, table showing growth of, 66
Jātakas, authenticity of, 125-26; Bhagavā as represented in, 70ff.; conception of, 47; date of, 126, 156; Dr. Barua's interpretation of (Calcutta Review, Oct, 1927), 24; elements of Bhāgavatism in, 156ff.; importance of, 94ff.; manipulation and antiquity of, 46-66; origin of, 14-19; original nature of, 26-45; polity according to, 125-55; religious background of, 96ff.; significance of, 1ff.; sociology according to, 100-24
Jātakavatthu, development of, 67-93
Javasakuna Jātaka, 41.
Jayaswal, K. P., 141, 155
Jotipāla, brahmin, 50-51, 53ff.
Juṇha Jātaka, 102
Justice, administration of, 136ff.

Kacchapa Jātaka, 44
Kāka Jātaka, 40, 80
Kakusandha Buddha, 48
Kakkaṭaka Jātaka, 17, 112
Kālikarakkhiya, sage, 98
Kaliṅga, country, 43, 127-28
Kāma Jātaka, 49
Kampilla (=Pañcāla), 128-29
Kaṇhadipāyana Jātaka, 7
Kaṇha Usabha Jātaka, 41
Kappaṭa Jātaka, 42
Karaṇīyametta Sutta, 56
Karma, doctrine of, 27, 39-40, 65, 69ff., 126, 162
Kāsi, country, 127
Kassapa, sage, 98
Kassapa Buddha, 3, 48
Kaṭāhaka Jātaka, 39
Kathāsaritsāgara, 35
Kāya, Conception of, 173ff.
Kekaka, state, 127
Kesava Jātaka, 42
Kevaḍḍha Suttanta, 162-63
Khadiraṅgāra Jātaka, 44
Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka, 135
Khattiyas, 96, 100, 106
Khuddaka Nikāya, 47, 65
Kimpaka Jātaka, 49
King, harem of, 144ff.; Jātaka evidence regarding, 127-28, 132ff.
Kingship, origin of, 149ff.
Kiṇṇaras, 20, 24
Kisavaccha, sage, 98
Kokālika, bhikkhu, 40
Konāgamana Buddha, 48
Kosala, country, 128, 154
Kosala Jātaka, 12
Kosambi, state, 127, 154
Kuddālapaṇḍita Jātaka, 42, 57
Kukkuṭa Jātaka, 16, 111
Kulāvaka Jātaka, 72, 88-89
Kumbha, worship of, 135, 175.
Kumbha Jātaka, 39
Kunālāvadāna, 17
Kuṇḍakasindhavapotaka Jātaka, 41
Kuru, country, 127, 133-34
Kurudhamma Jātaka, 43
Kuruṅgamiga Jātaka, 41
Kusa, Prince, 128, 130
Kusāvati, country, 127-28, 130
Kuṭidusaka Jātaka, 39

Lakkhaṇa Jātaka, 40
Lakkhaṇa Suttanta, 71
Laṭukika Jātaka, 38; sculpture of, 92n.
Litta Jātaka, 12, 58-59
Lokottaravādins, 61

Maccha, state, 127
Maccha Jātaka, 7
Madda, kingdom, 127ff., 154
Magadha, kingdom, 126ff.
Magha, Indra, 73; sage, 98
Maghādeva, King, 37
Mahāgovinda, 37
Mahāgovinda Suttanta, 50, 53ff., 83, 176n.
Mahākapi Jātaka, 149-50
Mahākassapa, Conduct of, 39
Mapāpadāna Suttanta, 26, 56-57, 83
Mahāpaduma Jātaka, 43
Mahāsamaya Suttanta, 56, 171n
Mahāsudassana, 37
Mahāsudassana Sutta, 56-57, 83
Mahāsuka Jātka, 50
Mahā Ummagga Jātaka, 17, 67
Mahāvastu, 61n.; Jātakas in, 18, 46, 49, 61ff., 71
Mahāyāna, Bodhisattvas in, 13, 17, 37, 84; Buddhas in, 174n.
Mahilāmukha Jātaka, 40

Mahiṃsāsaka Kumāra, 43
Mahiṃsāsaka School, 85
Mahosadha, minister of Videha, 133-34
Maisey, G., 173
Majjhima Nikāya, 47, 83
Majjhima Nikāya Commentary, 67, 81-82
Majumdar, R. C., 155
Makhādeva Jātaka, 16
Makhādeva Sutta, 56, 83
Mallas, tribe, 154
Mandhātu Jātaka, 38
Maṅgala Jātaka, 49
Maṅgala Sutta, 56
Maṇikaṇṭha Jātaka, 12
Manojava, sage, 98
Mantras, 165
Marriage, 109ff.
Mātuposakanāgasāja Jātaka, 38
Māyādevī, mother of Gotama Buddha, 172
Mehta, Ratilal, 95n.
Mettibhāvanā, 164
Milindapañha, 2ff., 8-9, 44, 67; objects of worship mentioned in, 19; Jātaka-stories in, 37, 82n,
Minister, functions of, 133; remuneration of, 134,
Mints, mines and, 143
Mugapakkha (=Temiya) Jātaka, 16-17, 57
Mūlapriyāya Sutta, 56

Nāga Jātaka, 17
Nāgaloka Jātaka, 17
Nāgaloka, 103, 134-35
Nagāra, country, 176-77
Nāgas, 164, 176
Nakula Jātaka, 81
Nalinī Jātaka, 46, 49, 151
Nandivisāla Jātaka, 41
Nārada, 77
Narbadā, river, 126
Nariman, 61n., 63n.
Naṭa-Itthi Jātaka, 39
Nibbāna, 52ff, 155
Nigama (=Pura), general features of, 130ff.
Nigrodha Jātaka, 42
Nikāyas, 9, 47-48, 50-51, 57-60, 65, 94; birth-stories in, 44; Bodhisatta idea absent in, 11.
Nimi Jātaka, 98
Nirvāṇa, 70, 157, 159
Northern India, political divisions of, 126ff.

Oldenberg, H., 71n.

Pācittiya Dhamma, 88n.
Pajjunna, God, 135
Pakkusas, 105ff.
Palāyi Jātaka, 102
Pali Canon, 9, 47, 156, 158, 161
Pañcala, Country, 127-28, 144
Paraloka, 164-65
Pāramitā, 5ff., 27, 37, 48, 72, 84, 87
Parosahassa Jātaka, 39
Pasenadi, King of Kosala, 172
Pāyāsi Suttanta, 58
Petavatthu, 92, 95
Piṅgala Jātaka, 39
Piṭakas, 60
Polity, Jātaka evidence on, 125-55
Prabhāvatī, princess, 128ff.
Puṇṇā, Buddha accepts meal from in a previous birth, 41
Puṇṇaka, yakkha, 103-4
Pupphavati, ancient Benares, 135
Purāṇas, 63n., 165
Puri, Triads of, 178

Rādhathera, Previous life of, 39
Rājadharma, 148-49
Rajataraṅginī, 35
Rājavinaya, 146ff.
Raychaudhuri, H. C., 155
Relics, worship of, 19
Religion, Jātaka evidence on, 156-78; pre-Buddhistic conception of, 97ff.
Renunciation, 142, 159-60
Rigveda, 76-77
Ritumat, woodland, 21
Rohinī, sister of Thera Sāriputta, 39
Rohinī, Jātaka, 81
Royal benefactions, 143
Rukkhadevatā Jātaka, 42

Saddharmapuṇḍarika, 64
Sāgala, capital, 128
Sāketa, state, 127
Sāketa Jātaka, 49
Sakka, lord of gods, 74ff.
Sakkapañha, Suttanta, 78-79, 88
Sakunaggi Jātaka, 58, 81
Sākyamuni, 13, 23, 84, 172, 178.

Sālika Jātaka, 39
Samantapāsādikā, 61-62, 68
Sambhulā, queen. 115ff.
Samudda, sage, 98
Saṃvara Jātaka, 49
Saṃyutta Nikāya, 47, 58
Sāñchi Stūpa, Jātaka scenee of, 26-27, 170ff.
Saṅkha Jātaka, 42
Sarabhaṅga Jataka, 50-51, 57, 61, 81
Sāriputta, thera, 39-40
Sarkar, G., 178n.
Sāsanavaṃsa, 86
Satthā, meaning of, 90
Sculpture, Bhāgavatism in, 170ff ; Foot-print in, 177; Triratna symbol in, 171ff.
Siddhas, 20
Sikhi Buddha, 48
Sivi Jātaka, 81
Slaves. 104 5
Sociology, Jātaka evidence on, 100-24
Somadatta Jātaka, 42
Somayāga, sage, 98
State, divisions of, 130-31; information in Jātakas regarding, 126ff.
Sudras, 96, 100, 106ff.
Sujāta Jātaka, 16
Sūkara Jātaka, 39
Sukhavihāri Jātaka, 12
Sumedha, Brāhmaṇa, 8, 11, 36-37
Surasena, 127
Sutasoma Jātaka, 151
Suttanta Jātakas, significance of, 56ff., 92
Suva Jātaka, 33, 42

Taccha-sūkara Jātaka, 150
Takkasilā, 102, 128
Tathāgata, 9, 13
Tax, payment of, 131, 131n.
Temiya Jātaka, 16 17
Tesakuṇa Jātaka, 148 49
Theravāda, 84
Theravādins, 60-61
Tibetan, Bodhisatta as described in, 17-18
'Tikoṭika cakama', explanation and identification of, 20-25.
Tissadahara, monk, 39
Tittira Jātaka, 12, 58
Tree-worship, 164
Tribal government, 149ff.
Trikāya (=Triratna), 173
Trikuta, mountain, 20ff.
Tuṇḍila Jātaka, 39
Tuṇḍiyas, royal officers, 137

Ubhatobhaṭṭha Jātaka, 39
Udda Jātaka, 39
Ujjeni, state, 154
Ulūka Jātaka, 108, 150-51
Ummaggā Jātaka, 129
Universal monarchy, conquest for, 128ff
Upananda Sākyaputta, conduct of, 39
Upasāḷhaka Jātaka, 38
Uraga Jātaka, 38

Vaiśyas,, 96' 100, 106ff.
Vejjians, tribe, 154; fall of, 154n
Vālodaka Jātaka, 38
Vaṃsa, country, 127
Vānarinda Jātaka, 7
Varanakaṭṭhabhañja Jātaka, 42
Varuṇa, 21
Vātamiga Jātaka, 42
Vaṭṭagāmaṇi king of Ceylon, 86
Vaṭṭa Jātaka, 7
Vedas, 163; study of, 103
Vessabhu Buddha, 48
Vessantara Jātaka, 5, 41
Videha, country, 127-28, 130, 133-34, 144
Vidhura Paṇḍita, Brahmin minister, 103-5 121, 133-35, 147.
Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka, 16, 67, 121, 147
Vidhura Puṇṇa Jātaka, 67
Vidyādharas, 20
Villages, 130-31, 138ff., 155
Vimānavatthu, 92, 95
Vinaya Cullavagga, 58
Vinaya Mahāvagga, 58, 141, 155
Vinaya Pitaka, 9, 11-12, 35, 48, 58-59, 154
Vipassi Buddha, 3, 37, 48
Viraka Jātaka, 40
Virocana Jātaka, 40
Vohārika-Mahāmatta, function of, 155

Winternitz, M., 28, 45n., 47
Wives, position of, 109ff., 144ff.

Yakkhas, 164,176
Yamahanu, sage, 98
Yaññas, 165-66
'Yatha nadī ca panthā'-Jātaka, 41
Yavamajhakiya Jātaka, 67
Yuttas, royal officers, 137*

* This index was very kindly prepared by my colleague Mr. D. L. Barua M. A. of the Pāli Department, Calcutta University. I am also grateful to him for several important suggestions.

LETTERS OF APPRECIATION SENT BY DISTINGUISHED INDOLOGISTS

1. Dr. Max Walleser, Professor of Indology in the Heidelberg University, Germany and author and editor of several important Buddhist Sanskrit and Pali works, writes under date the 19th February, 1930:

Heidelberg, Febr. 19th 1930.

Dear Sir,

You have had the kindness of sending me a copy of your articles on Jātaka—Literature which have appeared in the Calcutta Review. I think you are quite right with your theory as to the Bodhisattva notion as originally free from the idea of an anterior stage of Buddhahood. My very best thanks for your donation.

Yours truly,
M. Walleser.

1. Dr. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Professor of Pali, London University and President, Pali Text Society of London, has sent the following two letters of appreciation:—

(1)

Pali Text Society
C/o Rhys Davids,
Chipstead, Surrey.
4.8.30

Mr. Gokuldas De.

Dear Sir,

I have been much interested in reading your very sagacious study of the Jatakam in the Calcutta Review. I quite see with you in that collection a thesaurus of an origin quite independent of Sākya origins, with some stories in it which have probably been imported from other countries. I do not think the stories can possibly have been originally the verse or verses only. They are often quite unintelligible without the story (in whatever diction the story was told) and are the chanted summing up of the story or of a episode in it, just as we have even today in our light operas, where actors act and talk, then break out into song, solo or concerted. The reference to the 9 aṅgas of ways of wording, occurs not once only in the Aṅguttara Nikāya cited by you but many times in that and other Pitaka books and refers to a time when these books had not yet come into being.

It will not have been the first Sākya teachers who chatted to people about such stories but a much later Sangha of monk regimists who having lost the original inspiration of the teaching of the way and all it stood for were mainly concerned (a) to be popular and attractive speakers (b) with a genuine wish to inculcate a sound morality—as they viewed morality. I have put these remarks into an introduction to a new Jātaka selection published in London last year as "Stories of the Buddha" (*i.e.* of course Bodhisat. Not my title!)

Yours faithfully,
C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

(2)

Pali Text Society,
C/o Rhys Davids,
Chipstead, Surrey.
24.9.30

Mr. Gokuldas De.

Dear Sir,

It was very pleasant to get your alive response to my letter appreciating your Jātaka art of July's Calcutta Review, and to receive your previous articles. Your request however about them puts me into a difficult position or would do so, did I not frankly refuse to be put. You want me to write a "complete review to go into the C.R. at an early date." Now my son (1) I am not a Jataka expert, it isn't a field of Pali literature which bears more than *incidentally* on my chief work: This is the very *origins* of Sākya (I refuse to call it Buddhism) and Jātaka *as doctrine*, with the one notable exception of the Founder's—I was (in the past) X or Y (which is directly contrary to the monks' doctrine of anatta), does not belong to the origins. My only work on Jātakas is the introduction to a recent publication 'Stories of the Buddha' a selected new translation made last year for a London series of Eastern Stories. I have no spare copy, but send you a set of proofs of this book, in case you wish to read the special theme in Jātaka doctrine which I have brought out.

(2) I am quite too busy just now, even were I a Jataka expert, to go carefully into the points in your articles I am passing the chief book of my life Sākya or Origins of Buddhism thro' press; I am working on an anthology, on 2 articles, on lectures. No, I would much rather leave Jataka research in your hands and only ask you to be content if I during the next week or two read your articles and only write to you if I find anything worth making suggestions about either to express agreement or to point to a 'more' that is worth saying.

You will see in this month's C.R. an article by me which has been put in without any proof having been sent me. Such things are only possible-still-alas in Indian journals. Were a competent editor appointed to correct the proofs, this would be better than nothing. As it is all the stupid errors of the printer (who has a way of correcting the author's type script !) remain in. I am writing to the manager about it.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

3. Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Director of Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, writes under date 25th October, 1933 :—

Rev. H. Heras, S.J.
Director.

Indian Historical Research
Institute, St. Xavier's College
Bombay, 25th October, 1933.

Dear Mr. De,

I must thank you most sincerely for your book '*Significance of Jātakas*' that arrived here just after I sailed for Europe. You have done an excellent piece of work in this study. The Jātakas are one of the most interesting documents of ancient India, and you have thrown much light upon their nature, their antiquity and their significance.

Hoping to see other scholarly works from your pen, with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) H. Heras, S.J.

19-6-51